EGYPTIAN-TYPE DOCUMENTS

FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN LITTORAL OF THE IBERIAN PENINSULA
BEFORE THE ROMAN CONQUEST

III. STUDY OF THE MATERIAL

Andalusia

ÉTUDES PRÉLIMINAIRES AUX RELIGIONS ORIENTALES DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN

PUBLIÉES PAR
M. J. VERMASEREN

TOME SOIXANTE-CINQUIÈME

JOSEP PADRÓ I PARCERISA

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With Plates LXVI-CXLVI

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V. ANDALUSIA

(Mediterranean Littoral)

23. BARIA, VILLARICOS. CUEVAS DE ALMANZORA (ALMERIA)

The ruins of Villaricos, the ancient Baria, are situated close to the beach, on the left bank of the mouth of the River Almanzora and on the last of the southern spurs of the Sierra Almagrera. The area is very rich in minerals, which explains why the locality or its immediate neighbourhood was occupied from the Chalcolithic up to the Arab period. On its mineral riches the brothers Henri and Louis Siret wrote in 1887: "Almost the complete series of minerals is found there, copper, lead, and silver, and these metals even in their natural state, compounds of iron in great masses, gold, cinnabar, marble, gypsum, lime, sulphur, manganese oxide, and many silicates." And all this only three kilometres from Villaricos.[1]

The ruins were discovered at the end of the last century by Louis Siret, a Belgian engineer concerned with the exploitation of the Herrerías mines from about 1880. He began systematic excavations of the ruins, and found that the site had been pillaged since early times (Pls LXVIII-LXX). In his archaeological work Siret was ably helped by his foreman Pedro Flores, who kept a meticulous diary of excavations. On his death in 1934 Siret had discovered some 2,000 tombs, a primitive nucleus of habitation in the Acropolis, and another later, Roman, one on the bank of the river at the foot of the Acropolis. The total area of ruins uncovered at Villaricos totals some 590 sq. m.

It is supposed that the population of Villaricos must have been formed by colonists of Punic origin mixed with native elements. The earliest tombs in the Necropolis have been dated to the 6th century.[2] The most recent are Visigothic.

Siret did not manage to publish a Memoir of his work at Villaricos till 1907.[3] His excavations, however, continued, and in the years 1931-1934 Miriam Astruc, with the help of Siret himself, worked in the Museum-Depository maintained by the latter in Herrerías, in an attempt to put the material in order. The memoir compiled by Mlle. Astruc was not published till 1950.[4] The material, presented by Siret to the Spanish state, on his death in 1934 were taken into the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid. Some pieces were put on view. The great majority are lying in the store-room of the Museum (Pls LXVI-LXVII). Recently a classification of them was begun by Dr. Ma. J. Almagro Gorbea but they remain completely inaccessible for the present while she is at work. Only a small batch of this material has been conveyed to the Almeria Archaeological Museum through the mediation of Señor Juan Cuadrado Ruiz, and is now accessible for study there. Finally other pieces, many of them, must be given up for lost. Our sole sources of information, therefore, on this important deposit are the two publications of Siret and Astruc and the material in the Almería Archaeological Museum, to which I can add three photographs in the National Archaeological Museum showing an assemblage of pieces from Villaricos.[5] Thus except for one piece from the Almería Museum[6] it has not been possible to study directly any of the material with which I am here concerned. Siret had divided the 250 tombs he had excavated when he published his memoir into 6 Groups, while Astruc, confronted with a total of 2,000 tombs excavated by Siret, divided them into 10 groups. The absolute and relative chronology, both of Siret's and Astruc's groups, seems not very clear and in any case highly complex. Even the correspondence with one another of items in the groups defined by Siret and Astruc is on occasion rather obscure. In a work published in 1959, Blanco attempted to establish the chronology and synchronisms of the groups of Villaricos tombs.[7] What I have done is to try and reconstruct the furniture of the tombs I mention, with particular attention to the data given by Astruc. This work, however, has been made hazardous by my discovery that Astruc's book is full of mistakes and omissions. Moreover it is very difficult to use, thus increasing the danger of error at present in reconstructing the furniture of a specific tomb, which I have none the less done as carefully as possible. I hope the attempt may be of some use, not only now when we have no other data but also on the day when it will once more be possible to study the Villaricos material in the National Archaeological Museum.

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[1] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 11.

[2] Trias, *Cerámicas griegas*, pp. 434 ff.

[3] Siret, *Villaricos y Herrerías*.

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[4] Astruc, *Villaricos*.

[5] They are Negatives Nos. 1756, 1795, and 1796, of which Nos. 1756 and 1795 at any rate reproduce exactly the same assemblage of pieces. I thank Señorita María Cruz Martínez Zubía, Curator of the *Museo Arqueológico Nacional*, for her help in obtaining these photographs.

[6] I also thank my team mate, Señor F. Gusi Jener, director of the *Museo Arqueológico de Almería*, for his help in checking the material from Villaricos kept in this Museum and in studying the one Egyptianizing piece which we was able to locate among it.

[7] Blanco Freijeiro, *BIEGien*, 22, pp. 89 ff.

From the Villaricos Necropolis I have been able to catalogue a total of ten scarabs, thirty-seven amulets (including one doubtfully Egyptian), six trinkets (one likewise doubtful), an image of a deity, a vessel (also doubtfully Egyptian), a spoon, an intaglio, and a panel. It remains to be said that in specific cases I have been able to ascertain from other sources that Astruc did not by a long way publish all the material.[8]

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Gloria Trias de Arribas, *Cerámicas griegas de la Peninsula Ibérica*. Tomo I, *Texto*. Tomo II, *Índices y láminas*, Publicaciones de Arqueología Hispánica, II. Serie Primera. Monografías sobre cerámicas hispánicas, 2, Valencia, 1967-1968.

A. Arribas y J. Wilkins, *La Necrópolis fenicia del Cortijo de las Sombras (Frigiliana, Málaga)*, in *Pyrenae*, 5, Barcelona, 1969, pp. 185 ff.

Villaricos, No. 23.01 Scarab (Pl. LXXI)

Material and Colour: Green Jasper.

Measurements: length 1.7 cm., breadth 1.2 cm.

Place of Keeping: Probably in the National Archaeological Museum. But it is impossible to identify the piece on any of the three photographs we have.

Circumstances of Discovery: Came to light in (Cremation) Tomb No. 921, of Astruc's Group A, comprising some 80 burials scattered over the hill called U in Plate V of Astruc's book. These tombs have the form of a wide rectangular well, the average dimensions being 2 m. long by 0.90 m. broad and 1.50 m. deep. At the bottom centre of the well these burials have another smaller cavity, also rectangular. The only piece mentioned by Astruc from Tomb 921 is the scarab,[9] but it must be supposed that it had been violated.[10]

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[8] For instance pieces quoted by Bosch or Siret or preserved in the *Museo Arqueológico de Almeria*, to which Astruc makes no reference.

[9] Astruc, *Villaricos*, pp. 17 ff.

[10] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 22.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 21, Pl. VIII, 17.

Date: Blanco Freijeiro has dated Astruc's Group A to the 6th-5th centuries by comparison with the Necropolis of Castellones del Ceal.[11] Astruc also believed that Group A must be early in relation to the Villaricos Necropolis as a whole, but she did not lay down any absolute chronology. However, this scarab must be dated in principle to the 4th century and failing more exact details we must suppose this to have been the dating of the Villaricos Tomb 921.

Description: To judge from Astruc's drawing, the dorsal scheme belongs to Type IVb with thorax and elytra marked and the latter separated by a double line. The legs are marked. On the reverse, surrounded by a notched line, is a deity with falcon's head, kneeling and facing right with his arms stretched out before him apparently in the gesture of adoration. Although the theme is evidently Egyptian, the work, always according to Astruc's sketch, seems Western. The deity depicted is evidently Horus.

Parallels: From Carthage we can cite a jasper scarab with a representation of the falcon-headed Horus in a similar posture to that of Villaricos, and which can be dated to the 4th-3rd centuries;[12] and from Ibiza two jasper scarabs each with kneeling figure (one certainly Horus) in a similar posture.[13]

Conclusion: Probably a Pseudoegyptian scarab of Western manufacture, although with Egyptianizing representation, of the god Horus, who often appears on scarabs of this type.[14]

Villaricos, No. 23.02 Scarab (Pl. LXXI)

Material and Colour: Hard white glazed composition.

Measurements: length 1.85 cm., breadth 1.35 cm., height 0.75 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum of Madrid; reproduced on the photographic negatives Nos. 1756 and 1795 (Pl. LXVI).

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Villaricos Burial No. 858, belonging to Astruc's Group C, corresponding to Siret's Group I, located in Hill U of Plate V in Astruc's publication. These are rectangular inhumation graves, many of them with a lower cavity. No. 858 belongs to the sub-group called by Astruc "graves with lower cavity and bridge".[15] The furniture is listed as an ostrich egg shell in the form of a painted vase;[16] a bronze ring;[17] and two or three plain glass beads;[18] besides the scarab.

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[11] Blanco Freijeiro, *BIEGien*, 22, p. 94.

[12] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 219, No. 570.

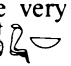
[13] Vives, *Arqueologia cartaginesa*, p. 69, Nos. 331 and 340, Pl. XXIV, 11 and 20.

[14] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 214 ff.: Man-Horus and Falcon-Horus.

[15] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 26, n. 84.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, pp. 32 and 35, Pl. XVI, 14.

Date: Astruc made out Group C to be of later date than Group B, which are also inhumations. Blanco Freijeiro on the other hand has assigned Group B to a time-span from the first half of the 4th century down to the 2nd, emphasizing the long persistence of this type of burial.[19] But here again I find myself unable to agree with Blanco's dating, this time for the opposite reason. This scarab must be dated at least to the 6th century, which must therefore be the date of Tomb 858 if it really contained the scarab. I observe that there is nothing about the furniture of this tomb to contradict the 6th-century dating.

Description: From Astruc's drawing it is impossible to make out the dorsal scheme of this piece. The legs seem to be very roughly indicated. On the reverse there are three hieroglyphic signs:  . The reading this seems to give is "the good goddess Edjoyet, lady", in which the first two signs have been transposed, since the *uraeus* should normally precede the *nfr* sign. But this is a very frequent mistake on scarabs.

Parallels: Pieces with exactly the same inscription can be cited from Carthage[20] and Egypt.[21]

Conclusion: Egyptian. It is however quite impossible to determine whether or not this scarab was manufactured with the «special technique» of Naucratis or at some other place in Egypt.

Villaricos, No. 23.03 Scarab (Pl. LXXI)

Material and Colour: Paste, mounted in a silver ring.

Measurements: length 1.5 cm.; with the ring 1.95 cm., breadth 1.2 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum of Madrid; the piece is reproduced on photographic negatives Nos. 1756 and 1795 (Pl. LXVI).

Circumstances of Discovery: Came to light in Burial No. 539, belonging to Astruc's Group E of cremation tombs, corresponding to Siret's Group III. This group was situated on the southern and south-eastern slopes of Hill U and the small Elevation V of the map reproduced on Plate V of Astruc's work. The burials came to light at a depth of only about 60 cm. and consisted of small circular holes hollowed out in the sand or rock. Among the furniture of Burial No. 539, besides the scarab, bronze and iron nails are mentioned.[22]

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[16] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 29, n. 112.

[17] Astruc, *Villaricos*, pp. 32 f., n. 133.

[18] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 34, n. 153.

[19] Blanco Freijeiro, *BIEGien*, 22, p. 95.

[20] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 122, No. 112.

[21] Newberry, *CGC.*, *Scarab-shaped seals*, Pl. XV, Nos. 36939, 37063, 37348, 36395.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 45, Pl. XX, 17.

Date: The Group E burials in Astruc's classification have been assigned by Blanco Freijeiro to a time-span from the 4th century to the Roman period.[23] Astruc limited herself to making Group E slightly later than Groups C and D. As for the scarab, it can be quite satisfactorily dated to the 4th century.

Description: Astruc's excessively schematic drawing makes it hazardous to determine the type of dorsal scheme of this piece. Between the drawing and the Museum photograph, however, we can indicate Type IVa as probable, with thorax and elytra simply marked. The scarab's legs are quite roughly indicated. The reverse is Hellenizing and shows a bearded head, according to the drawing facing left, and still according to the drawing, surrounded by a dotted border. The scarab is mounted on a semicircular silver swivel-ring with an axis or two little pins inserted in its longitudinal perforation.

Parallels: Paste scarabs with Hellenizing themes are relatively numerous at Carthage. Among them one is listed with a bearded head, very similar to the Villaricos example, although facing right.[24] And both are in their turn very similar to two jasper scarabs from Carthage, both with bearded heads facing left.[25] All these Carthaginian scarabs have a dating which fluctuates between the 5th, 4th, and 3rd centuries. In Villaricos too there is another scarab, No. 23.10, showing a human head. Scarabs of stone (jasper or cornelian) with Hellenizing heads are very abundant in the Punic world.

Conclusion: Pseudoegyptian Scarab, probably manufactured in the West, possibly in imitation of jasper models.

Villaricos, No. 23.04 Scarab (Pl. LXXI)

Material and Colour: Not given by Astruc (probably glazed composition).

Measurements: length 1.65 cm., breadth 1.2 cm.

Place of Keeping: Probably National Archaeological Museum, Madrid; impossible to identify in any of the photographs of Villaricos material.

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[22] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 45, n. 248.

[23] Blanco Freijeiro, *BIEGien*, 22, pp. 95 f.

[24] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 175, No. 328.

[25] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 224, Nos. 590-591.

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Cremation Burial No. 1,047, belonging to Astruc's Group E, in this case a large rectangular grave.[26] There was also found in this tomb, according to Astruc, a little jug with a three-lobed spout,[27] apparently from the Roman imperial age.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 48, Pl. XX, 18.

Date: Blanco Freijeiro has assigned Astruc's Group E to a time-span from the 4th century to the Roman period. The dating of the scarab is very difficult to determine since Astruc does not state the material of which it is made. The fact that it has an engraving of hieroglyphic signs makes me think it probably of Egyptian manufacture and about the 6th century, although the uncertain interpretation of some of these signs introduces an element of doubt. However, the chronological disparity of the two objects in this burial is so great that we either have to suppose there has been some confusion about the furniture, which is quite possible, or else that the grave did contain a 6th-century burial but was used again in the Imperial age, a possibility which again cannot be dismissed *a priori*. Whatever the case, it seems that the date which has to be assigned to the scarab is 6th-century.

Description: It is impossible to give a complete determination of the dorsal scheme of this piece from Astruc's drawing. On the reverse it has several engraved hieroglyphic signs with the *praenomen* of Sethos I, *Mn-mꜣʿt-Rʿ*: 𓇳𓏠𓆄? . Besides this are one or two signs which in Astruc's drawing are completely unidentifiable. The form of one of them in a very general way recalls a *uraeus*. I would recall, however, that other scarabs with this name usually have two *mꜣʿt* feathers opposed, and between them sometimes the sign of life *ʿnḫ*.[28]

Parallels: In an Egyptian example published by Petrie, the *maât* sign is preceded by a *uraeus*.[29] Another on the contrary, has the signs arranged just as in the Villaricos example, although the sign behind the maât feather is *nfr*.[30]

Conclusion: It seems evident that the name of Sethos I, like those of his illustrious fellows Thutmosis III and Amenhotep III, was still being engraved on scarabs of the Late Period, and with the same motives.[31] In any case this scarab seems to be of Egyptian manufacture.

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[26] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 43 n. 222. For the general characteristics of Astruc's Group E cf. above on No. 23.03.

[27] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 47, n. 277.

[28] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 78.

[29] Petrie, *Scarabs*, Pl. XXXIX, 10.

[30] Petrie, *Scarabs*, Pl. XXXIX, 11.

Villaricos, No. 23.05 Scarab (Pl. LXXI)

Material and Colour: Green Jasper.

Measurements: length 1.8 cm., breadth 1.2 cm.

Place of Keeping: Already lost before Astruc did her work at Herrerías during the years 1931-1934.[32]

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in (Cremation) Burial No. 108, belonging to Astruc's Group E. It was a big rectangular grave.[33] From this burial besides the scarab some plain composition beads are listed.[34]

Bibliography: Siret, *Villaricos y Herrerías*, p. 86 (462), Pl. XIX, 5 and 6. Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 48, Pl. XX, 19.

Date: Astruc's Group E is to be dated, according to Blanco, between the 4th century and the Roman period. The scarab has a 4th-century dating.

Description: The drawing of the dorsal scheme corresponds to Type IVb, an evolved form with the thorax and elytra marked, the former with two lines. The beetle's feet are very well rendered in Siret's drawing. Of the design on the reverse Siret says: "It has an engraved scene of adoration characterized by the gesture made by one hand of the personages, and the cross with a handle, symbol of Osiris, borne in the other hand. Above the worshippers the winged sun and two stars. Between the two the object of adoration, a kind of candelabrum or altar with the sacred fire. As for the two personages, both represent Horus, with the imperfection peculiar to work on stone.»[35] I merely add that the two falcon-headed personages representing Horus are crowned with the sun-disk. As for the object of adoration, according to Siret's drawing it seems to be simply the hieroglyphic sign *ḥ*. But in reality I think it must be the Osiris Pillar *ḏd*, and that its rounded form is due to the globular technique of the engraver's workmanship. The scene is placed on a cross-hatched *nb* sign and is surrounded by a continuous line (Pl. LXX).

Parallels: On a jasper scarab from Carthage, a seated deïty, probably Osiris, faces a *djed* pillar formed of three balls vertically aligned, as Vercoutter phrases it.[36] It can be dated to the 4th-3rd centuries. On another, of cornelian, we have a winged sun-disk above a similar scene.[37] It is dated to the 5th century. Vercoutter likewise cites an Egyptian scarab on which two falcon-headed deities are placed on either side of a group formed of Isis and Horus-the-Child, protecting them in a similar posture to that of the two personages on the Villaricos scarab.[38] From Ibiza comes a jasper scarab with an identical scene, though much better engraved. On this the *ḏd* pillar is perfectly recognisable. Here there are two *uraei* hanging from the winged sun-disk which, almost over the *ḏd*, confront the two adoring figures.[39]

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[31] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 77, at any rate warns us against the danger of word-plays on the names of Pharaohs of the Saite Dynasty, especially Psammetichus II and III.

[32] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 48, n. 286.

[33] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 43, n. 222.

[34] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 48, n. 284.

[35] Siret, *Villaricos y Herrerías*, p. 86.

Conclusion: Pseudoegyptian scarab, manufactured probably in the 4th century by some Western workshop, possibly Sardinian, though on Egyptian models.

Villaricos, No. 23.06 Scarab

Material and Colour: Not indicated by Astruc.

Measurements: This piece is not reproduced by Astruc, so that I have not been able to take measurements from her drawing.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum?

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in (Cremation) Burial No. 1,041, which was a large rectangular grave[40] and belongs to Astruc's Group E. No other object is cited as having belonged to the furniture of this tomb.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 48.

Date: The E Group of cremation burials has been dated by Blanco Freijeiro between the 4th century and the Roman period. In the present circumstances it is impossible to say anything definite about the dating of the scarab itself.

Description: According to Astruc, the engraving on this piece is worn.

Parallels: It is impossible to say anything definite.

Conclusion: It is impossible to say whether this is an Egyptian or Pseudoegyptian scarab.

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[36] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 222, No. 585.

[37] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 244, No. 671.

[38] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 249, No. 694.

[39] Vives, *Arqueología cartaginesa*, p. 68, No. 321, Pl. XXIV, 2.

[40] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 43, n. 222.

Villaricos, No. 23.07 Scarab (Pl. LXXIII)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: length 1.7 cm., breadth 1.2 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum of Madrid. Reproduced on photographic negatives Nos. 1756 and 1795 (Pl. LXVI).

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in (Cremation) Burial No. 536, belonging to Astruc's Group I, which is situated on the hills S and U of Plate V of her work and corresponds to Siret's Group III. In this Group, described as an "urnfield" by Astruc herself, the ashes were placed in pottery urns together with their furniture. The urn of Burial 536 was placed at the bottom of a small hole, made to measure and not very deep.[41] In the furniture are listed several glass beads with specks and little eyes;[42] a fragment of thick bone, engraved with radiate motifs;[43] a plain knife handle;[44] a great number of little bone objects;[45] and the scarab.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 60, Pl. XXXII, 33.

Date: Astruc[46] and Blanco Freijeiro seem to agree in dating Group I to the beginning of the 4th century. The long life of the Group was demonstrated in some burials by kalathoi, Campanian ware, and *sigillata* ware. But as for its beginnings, it has archaic elements which push the date back beyond the 4th century. Trías has dated to the 5th century (about 425) an Attic red-figure column crater which came to light in Burial No. 39, belonging to Astruc's Group I.[47] For my part, I should like to indicate the presence of two globular urns, whose lids were cut from the body of the vessel after it had been turned. These two seem to me archaic prototypes of the type called "with pierced lugs,"[48] dated without trouble to the 6th century. One of these was found in Burial 61 and its lid was cut in a saw-tooth line, without handles or lugs. The second has thick handles continued upward in a kind of excrescence, the future lug, which is where the lid has been cut, and a perforation made through the upper part of the handles and excrescences in order to attach them. Let us also recall the presence of conical pendants in the form of little bells.[49] I can also point out the kinship of the urn of Burial 46 of Villaricos[50] with that of Burial 14 of Cortijo de las Sombras,[51] a Necropolis of early date as we shall see below. Unfortunately Astruc did not publish anything like all the material[52] and the immense majority lie completely unknown in the storerooms of the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid. In these circumstances it is completely impossible to establish final conclusions, but none the less it seems to me that we can be sure of the existence of a certain batch of material enabling us to push the dating of Group I at least to the 6th century and perhaps beyond that. None of the pieces listed from the furniture of Tomb No. 536 can give us an absolute date, apart from the scarab. As for that, of good workmanship to judge by the Museum photograph, it must be at latest 6th-century, perhaps earlier.

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[41] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 55, n. 361.

[42] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 59, n. 402.

[43] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 63, n. 447.

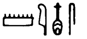
[44] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 64, n. 450.

[45] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 64, n. 453.

[46] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 178.

[47] Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, pp. 438 f., II, Pl. CXCIV and CXCV, 1.

[48] Siret, *Villaricos y Herrerías*, Pl. VIII, 11. Astruc, *Villaricos*, pp. 57 f., Pl. XXVIII, 4 and 5.

Description: I know nothing of the back or legs of this piece which are not reproduced anywhere. On the reverse, surrounded by a continuous line, there are four hieroglyphic signs, very well engraved:  . Possibly we should read: "May its truth and perfection endure" the feminine pronoun suffix *.s* probably referring to the scarab as amulet treated as neuter.[53]

Parallels: I do not know any parallel for this inscription. But the use of the suffix *.s* is attested in several cases like this, referring to the amulet on which the inscription is engraved.

Conclusion: Scarab manufactured in Egypt, and judging from the photograph in some workshop other than Naucratis.

Villaricos, No. 23.08 Scarab (Pl. LXXIII)

Material and Colour: Green Jasper.

Measurements: length 1.9 cm., breadth 1.35 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum of Madrid; reproduced in the Museum photographic negative No. 1796 (Pl. LXVII).

Circumstances of Discovery: Came to light in (Cremation) Burial No. 909, corresponding to Astruc's Group I and Siret's III, a group of burials of "urnfield" type. In Burial 909 there were two urns together in a small cavity, not very deep.[54] As furniture were listed: a gold ear-ring, of simple type, in the form of a half-moon;[55] three small silver beads, spherical and plain;[56] eight cylindrical lead beads with the ends slightly hollowed;[57] an amber bead;[58] several glass beads plain or speckled;[59] one or more bone beads spherical and ribbed;[60] two oblong beads or elongated roundels of coral;[61] amulets in the form of Bes, of an *udjat*, and of Bastet represented as a sitting cat,[62] respectively No. 23.19, 23.38 and 23.43; a bone *amphoriskos*;[63] one or more simple bronze rings;[64] an iron awl;[65] and the present scarab.

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[49] Astruc, *Villaricos*, Pl. XXXII, 36 and 38.

[50] Siret, *Villaricos y Herrerias*, Pl. VIII, 3. Astruc, *Villaricos*, Pl. XXIX, 2.

[51] Arribas y Wilkins, *Pyrenae*, 5, p. 236. Also the urn of Burial No. 5 is fairly similar (p. 222).

[52] As for the urns, for instance, Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 55, herself states that the 300 tombs of Group I had them but only publishes illustrations of 14 of them on Plates XXVIII and XXIX.

[53] For this use of the feminine pronominal suffix *.s*, cf. Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 271 f.

[54] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 55, n. 361 and 362.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 60, Pl. XXXII, 32.

Date: The material recovered from Tomb No. 909 and listed by Astruc seems to be satisfactorily assignable to the 4th century, and this agrees well enough with the scarab.

Description: I do not know the drawing of the dorsal scheme of this piece. The legs appear well marked on the Madrid Museum photograph. On the reverse, surrounded by a notched line, there is a Hellenizing engraving: a personage, probably naked, with helmet on head and armed with a trident and a strange object,[66] is moving to the left; judging from the trident as attribute, it could be a representation of Poseidon.

Parallels: Representations of warriors in similar attitudes to that of the Villaricos scarab are very numerous on stone scarabs of Western manufacture. One of them, from Carthage, is also in all probability a Poseidon moving to the left, with a trident in one hand and a fish in the other.[67]

Conclusion: Pseudoegyptian scarab of Western manufacture.

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[55] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 59, n. 392.

[56] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 59, n. 397.

[57] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 59, n. 398.

[58] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 59, n. 400.

[59] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 59, n. 401 and 402.

[60] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 60, n. 404.

[61] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 60, n. 405.

[62] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 60, n. 407, 408 and 409.

[63] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 60, n. 411.

[64] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 61, n. 419.

[65] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 62, n. 435.

[66] It is difficult to make out this object in the photograph. It may be a shield as Astruc claims, though she has taken the trident, which is very clear, for a spear. But it may also be a net or a cloth.

[67] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 245, No. 674.

Villaricos, No. 23.09 Scarab (Pl. LXXIII)

Material and Colour: Enamelled clay?[68] Stone?

Measurements: length 1.6 cm., breadth 1.2 cm.

Place of Keeping: Lost before Astruc completed her work in Herrerías' Museum-Depository.[69]

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in (Cremation) Burial No. 37,[70] belonging to Astruc's Group I and Siret's Group III. In this Burial there were seven urns grouped together.[71] Besides the scarab the furniture comprised a glass ball formed of necklace beads melted together, a little silver mirror, beads of various shapes in composition and glass, two amulets probably representing Thot and Horus, respectively No. 23.23 and 23.24, and two simple bronze rings.[72]

Bibliography:Siret, *Villaricos y Herrerías*, pp. 83 (459) and 86 (462), Pl. XVI, 37(4) and Pl. XIX, 7. Astruc, *Villaricos*, pp. 60 f., Pl. XXXII, 34.

Date: The tomb must probably be dated to the 4th century by the two amulets of Thot and Horus, such as have a similar dating in other deposits, especially at Empúries and El Cigarralejo. This dating leads me to reaffirm my opinion that the scarab must be of stone, of Western manufacture as its workmanship seems to indicate, and also datable to the 4th century.

Description: It is very difficult to determine the type of dorsal scheme from Siret's drawing. It seems to be Type IV with rounded thorax (this seems definite) and elytra indicated (in Siret's illustration this detail cannot be made out). I can say nothing about the legs. On the reverse, surrounded by a notched line, is a representation of Isis suckling Horus. The goddess is kneeling, turned to the left, her left hand holding her breast, while her right must be supporting her son who is sitting on her lap. Isis is crowned with the sun-disk, and Horus too has a crown, perhaps the *pschent*. The goddess wears a netted robe from waist to feet and we cannot clearly see whether she is placed over the *nb* sign (Pls. LXVIII and LXX).

Parallels: Representations of Isis and Horus are extremely numerous on Pseudoegyptian scarabs. Among them those in which Isis is suckling Horus are also fairly plentiful, and several examples can be cited from Carthage[73] and Ibiza.[74]

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[68] According to Siret, *Villaricos y Herrerías*, p. 86 (462). The question mark is due to the fact that the engraving, as it is shown in Siret's own drawing, seems to me to correspond much more to the technique of stone engraving.

[69] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 60.

[70] A confusion of Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 61, n. 417, who attributes this piece to Burial No. 42, in contradiction with Siret, *Villaricos y Herrerías*, p. 83 (459), Pl. XVI, 37(4).

[71] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 55, n. 366.

[72] Siret, *Villaricos y Herrerias*, p. 83 (459). Astruc, *Villaricos*, pp. 59 ff.

Conclusion: Pseudoegyptian scarab of Western Manufacture.

Villaricos, No. 23.10 Scarab (Pl. LXXIII)

Material and Colour: Enamelled clay?[75] Stone?

Measurements: length 1.65 cm., breadth: 1.2 cm.

Place of Keeping: Lost before Astruc arrived at the Herrerías Museum in 1931 to do her work of ordering the material deposited there.[76]

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb No. 42,[77] belonging to Astruc's Group I and Siret's Group III. In this tomb there were four urns together.[78] As furniture, besides the scarab, were listed: an anular bronze Spanish fibula;[79] bronze finger-rings, simple, one of them with two tiny platelets side by side; two clay spindle-whorls, of double truncated cone shape; composition beads, both plain and speckled, glass of different forms, and several perforated bone cylinders.[80]

Bibliography: Siret, *Villaricos y Herrerias*, pp. 83 (459) and 86 (462), Pl. XVI, 42(1) and Pl. XIX, 8. Astruc, *Villaricos*, pp. 60f., Pl. XXXII, 35. Cuadrado, *Zephyrus*, VIII, pp. 50 and 55, fig. 37/3-4. Fletcher, *VIII CNA*, p. 307.[81] Arribas y Wilkins, *Pyrenae*, 5, p. 209.

Date: Cuadrado dates the type of fibula in Burial No. 42 to the 4th century. This date agrees with all that can be presumed about the scarab.

Description: Siret's drawing does not allow a determination of the dorsal scheme. The legs are indicated. Siret says the design on the reverse is hard to make out and its interpretation doubtful. In his drawing we see a Hellenizing human head facing left, wearing an animal skin, apparently that of a lamb. It could thus be a Heracles. The design surrounded by a notched line (Pls. LXVIII and LXX).

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[73] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 216, No. 560 and 218, No. 569, both jasper; p. 240, No. 657, cornelian; p. 249, No. 694, translucent agate.

[74] Vives, *Arqueologia cartaginesa*, p. 68, Nos. 324, 325, 327, and probably 328, Pl. XXIV, 5, 6, 8 and 9.

[75] Subject to the same uncertainties as in the previous scarab, No. 23.09.

[76] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 60.

[77] A confusion of Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 61, n. 418, attributing this scarab to Burial 37, in contradiction with Siret, *Villaricos y Herrerias*, Pl. XVI, 42(1) and XIX, 8.

[78] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 55, n. 364.

[79] Siret, *Villaricos y Herrerias*, p. 83 (459), Pl. XVI,42(1). Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 61, n. 422, Pl. XXXII, 39. Cuadrado, *Zephyrus*, VIII, pp. 50 and 55, fig. 37, 5.

[80] Siret, *Villaricos y Herrerias*, p. 83 (459), Pl. XVI, 42(1), 42(2), 42(3) and 42(4). Astruc, *Villaricos*, pp. 59ff. Cuadrado, *Zephyrus*, VIII, pp. 50 and 55, fig. 37, 3-4.

[81] Reference can also be made here to Fletcher, *La Solivella*, p. 55, where the author refers to El Cigarralejo instead of Villaricos by mistake.

Parallels: Several scarabs with Hellenizing heads have been found at Carthage, most of stone but one also of glazed composition.[82] The nearest parallel, geographically speaking, is Scarab No. 23.03 from Villaricos itself, of paste, with a bearded head. Another comes from Ibiza.[83]

Conclusion: Pseudoegyptian scarab, of Western manufacture.

Villaricos, No. 23.11 Amulet (Pl. LXXI)

Material and Colour: Glazed Composition.

Measurements: height 1.8 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum of Madrid (possibly reproduced in the lower part of negative No. 1796) (Pl. LXVII).

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb No. 1113 or in No. 1729.[84] Both belong to Astruc's Group A. The same applies to Amulets Nos. 23.27 and 23.28.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 21, Pl. VIII, 12.

Date: 4th century?

Description: Astruc merely says that this is a representation of Bes and the drawing she publishes is so schematized as to make the identification of this amulet with that reproduced in Negative No. 1796 of the National Archaeological Museum problematical. In any case the features of the piece are so simple that it is very difficult to distinguish on it a representation of Bes or Ptah-*Pataikos*. To judge from Astruc's drawing the amulet is double-faced.

Parallels: The Bes and Ptah-*Pataikos* amulets are extremely abundant in Egypt and very popular in the Punic world,[85] being found also in the Etruscan world.[86] In Villaricos itself both are numerous.

Conclusion: Following Vercoutter,[87] I consider these glazed composition amulets as of Egyptian manufacture, but with some reserves. Cf. my *Conclusion* on Empúries No. 07.17. The crudity of feature in this piece points to a 4th-century dating.

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[82] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 175, No. 328, glazed composition; pp. 223 ff., Nos. 588 ff., jasper, and especially No. 601, in which on the left is seen the head of a bearded man wearing a lion's or lamb's head headdress and on the right another head, apparently female, below which is another head, perhaps a lion's. The four heads form a single block. These scarabs are dated to the 5th-3rd centuries.

[83] Vives, *Arqueología cartaginesa*, p. 75, No. 411, Pl. XXV, 22, with double face, one beardless, the other not, each surmounted with a lion's or lamb's head.

[84] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 21, n. 58, does not specify in exactly which of the two tombs this amulet was found.

[85] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 269 f., 274 ff.

[86] Bissing, *St. Etr.*, IV, Pl. XXX.

[87] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 278 and n. 3.

Villaricos, No. 23.12 Amulet (Pl. LXXI)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: height 1.5 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 462, belonging to Astruc's Group C,[88] an inhumation tomb with lower cavity of human shape.[89] According to Astruc, in this tomb there was an ostrich egg shell in the form of a painted vase[90] and another entire, unpainted,[91] one each perhaps for the two bodies buried there;[92] 11 gold beads,[93] 57 beads of cornelian[94] and several of composition, plain or speckled;[95] a golden *udjat* eye, another of silver and two of glazed composition, a falcon, also of glazed composition, with all of which we shall be dealing below, respectively No. 23.49, 23.52, 23.29, 23.30 and 23.44, and the present amulet.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 35, Pl. XVI, 10.

Date: 4th Century? The sole criterion for proposing such a date is the apparent crudity of the piece.

Description: Astruc describes this amulet as a representation of Bes with a snake in each hand. But none of this can be made out in the schematized sketch she publishes.

Parallels: The amulets with a representation of Bes are fairly numerous at Villaricos. In general, cf. my remarks on the amulet Villaricos No. 23.11.

Conclusion: I consider this amulet as Egyptian, but with some reserves. Cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.13 Amulet

Material and Colour: Glazed Composition.

Measurements: unknown.[96]

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 750, belonging to Astruc's Group C, simple grave with bridge, dug in the form of two cavities of equal or different lengths. The Tomb contained an entire and unpainted ostrich egg shell,[97] gold beads,[98] and nails,[99] besides the present amulet.

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[88] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 35, n. 161.

[89] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 25, n. 83.

[90] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 29, n. 112.

[91] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 29, n. 113.

[92] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 30, n. 114.

[93] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 34, n. 147 and 154.

[94] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 34, n. 151 and 154.

[95] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 34, n. 153.

[96] Astruc does not publish a drawing of this piece.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 36.

Date: ?

Description: Astruc describes this amulet as a Bes with a snake in each hand.

Parallels: ?

Conclusion: Probably an Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves. Cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.14 Amulet

Material and Colour: Glazed Composition.

Measurements: Unknown.[100]

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 955, belonging to Astruc's Group D, consisting of about 30 burials containing inhumations and cremations together, and situated on the southern and south-eastern slopes of Hill U.[101] The tomb contained an ostrich egg shell, entire and undecorated, placed at the head of the tomb, while there was a hen's egg at its foot;[102] a cup apparently of Hellenistic ware (Pre-Campanian?);[103] a lamp of Rhodian type according to Astruc, together with ashes;[104] ear-rings of double spiral type and half-moon shape;[105] and an *udjat* eye, No. 23.32, which we shall be dealing with below, besides the present amulet.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 41.

Date: 4th Century?

Description: Astruc says this is a Bes.

Parallels: ?

Conclusion: Amulet probably Egyptian but with some reserves. Cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

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[97] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 29, n. 113.

[98] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 34, n. 147.

[99] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 37, n. 171.

[100] Astruc does not publish a drawing of this piece.

[101] Astruc, *Villaricos*, Pl. V.

[102] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 40, n. 193-194.

[103] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 41, n. 197.

[104] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 41, n. 199.

[105] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 41, n. 203-204.

Villaricos, No. 23.15 Amulet

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: height 1.7 cm.

Place of Keeping: Unknown.[106]

Circumstances of Discovery: Came to light in Urn No. 2 of (Cremation) Tomb 54,[107] belonging to Astruc's Group E, which corresponds to Siret's Group III, consisting of a round or square hole with diameter or side of about 50 cm. and the same depth, lined with stones, fragments of slates covered with gypsum plaster, or with mud-brick or potsherds bound with clay.[108] According to Astruc, who omits the present amulet, in this tomb there were two spherical cornelian beads, several composition beads plain or speckled, 17 ribbed beads, two large beads of dark blue glass with white and indigo protuberances, an elongated composition roundel, a bronze ring with a flat oval plaquette, a bronze anular fibula, an iron sword and javelin (*solliferreum*)[109] and three ivory nail-heads;[110] according to Siret we can add to this furniture a dentaline bead and a bone button.[111]

Bibliography: Siret, *Villaricos y Herrerias*, pp. 84 ff., Pl. XVII, 54(2), Pl. XIX, 1, 2, 3.

Date: 4th-century probably.

Description: Ptah-*Pataikos* as satisfactorily identified by Siret. Owing to the difficulty of interpreting his drawings, I prefer to reproduce his description of the piece, which is very detailed and correct: "The principal face represents a deformed god curled up; in his hands it seems he is grasping two snakes. This personage may be confused with the pigmy god, with Ptah, or with Bes. In some cases he is trampling underfoot two crocodile's heads, and the base of our example retains a memory of such a posture, but the animals are completely distorted and reduced to geometrical shapes, both in front where the heads should be, and behind, where the drawing is analogous to that of the crocodiles' skins in other examples from Carthage. On each shoulder he usually has a sparrow-hawk. In our case these places are occupied by objects which have lost this character. On the reverse face are seen figures of goddesses, usually naked, standing, provided with great wings. The arms are usually raised and above there is a winged sun-disk. The sides are occupied by other representations of human beings, more often naked than clothed and in some cases reminding us of the Child Horus, in others of the Cabiri deities."[112] Let me add merely, following Vercoutter's general description, that the Ptah-*Pataikos* is a deity of the Egyptian pantheon compounded of the figuration of Ptah in his form of foetus, trampling two crocodiles and with two knives, two snakes, or two leaves in his hands. Behind him or at his side we find Isis and Nephthys, sometimes the winged Isis alone, or Sakhmet alone. Two falcons are perched on the god's shoulders. Finally the head is frequently adorned with a beetle, engraved directly above the skull.[113] We can see how far this general description agrees with the Villaricos amulet (Pls. LXIX-LXX).

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[106] This piece was omitted by Astruc, so that we do not know if it was already lost at the time. In any case, it is not to be seen on any of the negatives of the *Museo Arqueológico Nacional* of Madrid.

[107] Siret, *Villaricos y Herrerias*, p. 85 (461).

[108] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 43, n. 221.

[109] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 46, n. 261-262.

[110] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 47, n. 267.

[111] Siret, *Villaricos y Herrerias*, p. 84 (460), Pl. XVII, 54 (2).

Parallels: Siret already knew of the abundance of these amulets in Punic necropolises. Vercoutter expatiated at length on the specifically Egyptian origin of this amulet and its wide diffusion over the Phoenician and Punic areas.[114] It is possible that many of the amulets called Bes by Astruc at Villaricos are really highly stylized Ptah-*Pataikoi*. In Cadiz too a magnificent Ptah-*Pataikos* in pure gold has been found and not recognized as such by Quintero, being normally known as "the Trilogy".[115]

Conclusion: The first conclusion to be drawn from the study of this piece is its omission by Astruc, who must however have known Tomb 54. On the other hand, this is not the first mistake I have detected in Mademoiselle Astruc's cumbersome book. All this inclines me to be very cautious in using this work, in which errors and omissions are bound to be numerous, owing to the unnatural fashion in which the tomb furniture has been presented. As for the amulet in itself, I reaffirm my opinion that it is an Egyptian piece, with some reserves. Cf. Empúries No. 07.17. The question of the dating is a delicate one. Vercouter himself dates many of these amulets, with inscription, between the 7th and 3rd centuries.[116] The sole criterion available is the purely aesthetic one, and bearing in mind the marked schematization of the Villaricos amulet, to which Siret himself alludes,[117] I would favour a 4th-century dating, always of course with all my usual reserves.

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[112] Siret, *Villaricos y Herrerías*, pp. 85f. (461 f.).

[113] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 269.

[114] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 269ff.

[115] Quintero, *Cádiz, 1929-1931*, pp. 17f., Pl. III. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, p. 26.

[116] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, e.g. pp. 294f.

[117] Siret, *Villaricos y Herrerías*, p. 86 (462).

Villaricos, No. 23.16 Amulet (Pl. LXXII)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: height 1.5 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?[118]

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 742, belonging to Astruc's Group F, corresponding to Siret's Group V.[119] This Group is composed of some 150 inhumation burials, mostly on Hill S or between that and Hill U, with some on Hill U to the south-east and north-east.[120] Tomb 742 was one of the bigger graves, rectangular, between 1.50 and 1.80 m. long, 40 and 50 cm. wide, and 1 m. deep.[121] According to Astruc, besides the amulet, the Tomb contained a small gold ear-ring of half-moon shape.[122]

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 51, n. 322, Pl. XXIII, 10.

Date: 4th century?

Description: Astruc says this is a Bes, a statement impossible to verify from the simple sketch she publishes.

Parallels: Cf. Villaricos amulet No. 23.11.

Conclusion: Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves. Cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.17 Amulet (Pl. LXXII)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: height 1.2 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Burial 386, belonging to Astruc's Group H which corresponds to Siret's Group VI. This Group comprises about twenty graves on the northern and southern slopes of Hill U,[123] between 50 cm. and 1.20 m. long, about 50 cm. wide, and between 30 cm. and 2 m. deep, containing infant inhumations in amphoras.[124] According to Astruc, besides the amulet, the tomb contained two plain glass beads, two small *udjat* eyes which we shall be discussing, No. 23.36 and 23.37, and two bronze rings.[125]

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[118] The schematism of the drawing published by Astruc prevents any attempt at identifying the pieces in the photographic negatives of this Museum.

[119] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 51, n. 322.

[120] Astruc, *Villaricos*, Pl. V.

[121] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 49, n. 298.

[122] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 50, n. 314.

[123] Astruc, *Villaricos*, Pl. V.

[124] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 53, n. 353.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 54, n. 357, Pl. XXVII, 8.

Date: 4th century?

Description: According to Astruc a Bes, but this cannot be verified from the highly schematized sketch she publishes.

Parallels: Cf. Villaricos No. 23.11.

Conclusion: Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves: cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.18 Amulet

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: height 1.05 cm.

Place of Keeping: Lost.[126]

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 169, belonging to Astruc's Group I which corresponds to Siret's Group III. The ashes of this cremation were in a pottery urn and stood isolated at the bottom of a small cavity, not very deep, in the middle.[127] No other piece of furniture from this tomb is mentioned.

Bibliography: Siret, *Villaricos y Herrerias*, p. 86 (462), Pl. XIX,11. Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 60, n. 407.

Date: 4th century?

Description: According to Astruc a Bes. Siret does not describe the piece, but publishes a drawing in which the features are very rudimentary. On all accounts I am inclined to regard it as a Foetus-Ptah (Pl. LXX).

Parallels: Cf. Villaricos No. 23.11.

Conclusion: Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves: cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.19 Amulet

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: Unknown.

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[125] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 54, n. 357.

[126] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 60, n. 407, already gives it as lost.

[127] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 55, n. 361.

Place of Keeping: Lost.[128]

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 909, belonging to Astruc's Group I which corresponds to Siret's III. This Tomb had similar characteristics to No. 169 which I have just mentioned in connection with the Villaricos amulet No. 23.18,[129] but with two pottery urns together in the same tomb.[130] Besides the amulet this Tomb contained, according to Astruc, one or two gold ear-rings of half-moon shape, three little smooth spherical silver beads, eight cylindrical lead beads with the ends slightly hollowed, some amber beads, composition beads plain or speckled,[131] bone beads spherical and ribbed, and two elongated coral beads or roundels;[132] an *udjat* eye and a seated cat which we shall be discussing below, a bone amphoriscus, a scarab already listed, No. 23.08, one or more simple bronze rings,[133] and an iron awl.[134]

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 60, n. 407.

Date: This Tomb can be satisfactorily assigned to the 4th century, a dating which corresponds to Scarab no. 23.08, and must also correspond to the present Amulet.

Description: Astruc says this is a Bes, but gives no reproduction of it.

Parallels: Cf. Villaricos No. 23.11.

Conclusion: Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves: cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.20 Amulet (Pl. LXXIII)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: height 1.2 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum of Madrid.[135]

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 560, belonging to Astruc's Group J and Siret's II, composed of some 50 caves open to a slight depth in Hill U, the majority to the south, some to the east and west, others apart on the slope of the small Rise V.[136] Tomb 560 consisted of a cave simply dug[137] and had a stele the original position of which is not known. The tomb contained, according to Astruc, besides this amulet, an ostrich egg shell in the form of a vase and decorated, and four entire shells, undecorated;[138] an amphora, undescribed;[139] some cups, apparently of Hellenistic ware;[140] several unguentaria and small vessels of a form derived from them;[141] a Campanian cup with a very open rim, one or more cylindrical vessels with mouldings on the rim and a hemispherical interior cavity, also Campanian, and some kind of vessel of greyish earthenware with an incised linear decoration, Roman;[142] gold and silver ear rings;[143] two cornelian beads, round and cylindrical, and one of glass;[144] probably another Bes, No. 23.21; a silver ring, thick, with some material vitrified where a plaquette had been;[145] fragments of two swords, a knife, three spears, a javelin, and a helmet;[146] some iron strigils, joined in pairs by iron or bronze tubular rings;[147] fragments of plaquettes with fixing pins attached, rods, nails, and eight bronze coins;[148] fragments of transparent glass phials, circular bone edging studs ornamented with incised radial lines, and some little bits of bone.[149]

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[128] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 60, n. 407, already gives it as lost.

[129] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 55, n. 361.

[130] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 55, n. 362.

[131] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 59, n. 392, 397, 398, 400, 401 and 402.

[132] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 60, n. 404 and 405.

[133] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 61, n. 419.

[134] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 62, n. 435.

[135] Although the drawing published by Astruc is very rudimentary, it seems that this amulet can be identified with one to be seen on photographic negatives Nos. 1756 and 1795 of the Museum (Pl. LXVI).

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 76, n. 531, Pl. XLII, 20.

Date: Clearly in Villaricos Tomb 560 there are several burials, carried out at successive periods as is shown by the chronological disparity of the furniture I have listed. On the other hand, Blanco himself seems to think that the oldest tombs at Villaricos are those belonging to Astruc's Group J and Siret's II, going back perhaps to the 7th century,[150] while he recognizes also that the use of these tombs went on at least to the Roman period. Thus I must be content to try and date the present amulet, and for that as for its predecessors and in view of its poor quality we may suppose a 4th-century dating.

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[136] Astruc, *Villaricos*, Pl. V and VI.
[137] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 67, n. 469.
[138] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 70, n. 478 and 479.
[139] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 70, n. 484.
[140] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 72, n. 491.
[141] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 72, n. 497 and 498.
[142] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 73, n. 503, 504 and 505.
[143] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 74, n. 509 and 511.
[144] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 75, n. 523 and 529.
[145] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 77, n. 550.
[146] Astruc, *Villaricos*, pp. 77 f., n. 558.
[147] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 78, n. 567.
[148] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 79, n. 572, 573, 574 and 580.
[149] Astruc, *Villaricos*, pp. 80 f., n. 582, 588 and 593.
[150] Blanco Freijeiro, *BIEGien*, 22, pp. 94 ff.

Description: Astruc describes it as a Bes. For my part, and so far as Astruc's rudimentary sketch and the problematical identification of the piece in the National Archaeological Museum photograph allow, I rather think it may be a Foetus-Ptah.

Parallels: Cf. Villaricos No. 23.11.

Conclusion: Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves; cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.21 Amulet (Pl. LXXIII)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: height 1.65 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?

Circumstances of Discovery: Astruc says that in Tomb 560 a Bes was found, and immediately follows that by saying that in Tomb 277 two cobras were found, referring to Plate XLII, figs. 20-22 for the illustrations. But on that plate, instead of what might be expected, we see two supposedly Bes images (figs. 20 and 21) and only one cobra (fig. 22). Possibly a mistake has been made (one more among many) and what Astruc originally meant was that two Bes's were found in Tomb 560 and a cobra in Tomb 277. So we may suppose that this amulet comes from Tomb 560 like the previous one, No. 23.20[151].

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 76, n. 531, Pl. XLII, 21.

Date: Perhaps 4th century. Cf. Villaricos No. 23.20.

Description: For Astruc this was a representation of Bes, which is plausible in view of the tuft of plumes visible in her sketch on the amulet's head.

Parallels: Cf. Villaricos No. 23.11.

Conclusion: Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves; cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.22 Amulet (Pl. LXXIII)

Material and Colour: Bone.

Measurements: height 1.2 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?

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[151] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 76, n. 531 and 532, Pl. XLII, 20, 21 y 22.

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Interment 3 of Tomb 414, belonging to Astruc's Group J and Siret's II.[152] This tomb was a çave simply dug in the rock.[153] The ashes of Interment 3 of this (cremation) Tomb were in a stone casket provided with little feet, measuring 40 × 20 cm.[154] According to Astruc the furniture of this Tomb was composed, besides the amulet, of an ostrich egg shell entire and undecorated,[155] pottery utensils such as "cooking pots, canthari, and vases",[156] a ringed cylindrical silver case,[157] and metal rods.[158]

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 76, n. 536, Pl. XLII, 25.

Date: Nothing in the furniture of this burial offers us a precise dating: the amulet is perhaps to be dated to the 4th century.

Description: According to Astruc this is a crude imitation of the Bes figures in polished earthenware. Nothing can be added to this description from the crude drawing she has published.

Parallels: Cf. Villaricos No. 23.11.

Conclusion: Pseudoegyptian amulet, manufactured in the West, probably *in situ*, in imitation of glazed composition models.

Villaricos, No. 23.23 Amulet (Pl. LXXIII)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: height 2.1 cm.

Place of Keeping: Lost.[159]

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 37, which we have already described, together with its furniture, in connection with Scarab No. 23.09 which also came to light there.

Bibliography: Siret, *Villaricos y Herrerias*, pp. 83 (459) and 86 (462), Pl. XVI, 37(4) and XIX, 9. Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 60, n. 406, Pl. XXXII, 19.

Date: Amulets of this type are dated to the 4th century. In the Peninsula we have satisfactorily dated examples from Empùries and especially from El Cigarralejo, Amulet No. 21.01 (third quarter of 4th century). Scarab No.

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[152] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 76, n. 536.

[153] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 67, n. 469.

[154] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 69, n. 474.

[155] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 70, n. 479.

[156] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 72, n. 495.

[157] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 76, n. 540.

[158] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 79, n. 573.

[159] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 60, n. 406.

23.09, also found in Tomb 37, Villaricos, is likewise to be dated to the 4th century and this must be the dating of the Tomb.

Description: To judge from Siret's drawing and observations, the image of a standing deity, in a hieratic attitude, with the head of a *Cynocephalus* or dog-headed baboon, and therefore Thot. The figure has a small base and a back pillar. It is transversely pierced behind the arms at elbow height (Pls. LXVIII and LXX).

Parallels: This amulet, despite its baboon's head, is practically identical with the falcon-headed amulets Empúries No. 07.17, Tossal de Manises No. 15.01, Albufereta No. 16.01, Cigarralejo No. 21.01, and the lower part of the amulet of La Bastida de les Alcuses, No. 14.01. At Villaricos too there is a falcon-headed amulet, from the same Tomb as the present, No. 23.24, and two other vaguely similar amulets, Nos. 23.25 and 23.26. The two principal animals which were sacred to Thot were the Ibis and the Dog-headed Baboon (*Cynocephalus*) and this deity could be represented anthropomorphically with the head of either. Specifically in the Late Period, the amulets representing Thot as a man with the baboon's head are well documented in Egypt.[160] This form, however, cannot have been very well distributed in the West, since we have no note of it in Carthage, where there are, on the other hand, representations of Thot in baboon form with the body as well as the head of the animal.[161]

Conclusion: Amulet assuredly manufactured in Egypt, as is proved by the scarcity of this type in the West. For a discussion of the place of origin of anthropomorphic glazed composition amulets in general, cf. Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.24 Amulet (Pl. LXXIII)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: height 2.4 cm.

Place of Keeping: Lost.[162]

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 37, already described in connection with Scarab No. 23.09 which also came to light there.

Bibliography: Siret, *Villaricos y Herrerias*, pp. 83 (459) and 86 (462), Pl. XVI, 37(4) and XIX, 10. Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 60, n. 406, Pl. XXXII, 22.

Date: 4th Century; cf. remarks on No. 23.23.

Description: According to Siret's account and drawings, the representation of a god with the head of a sparrow-hawk; the god is standing on a base with a back-pillar. The amulet, which represents Horus, is pierced transversely behind the arms at the level of the elbows (Pls LXVIII and LXX).

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[160] Petrie, *Amulets*, p. 41, Pl. XXXIV, 191.

[161] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 274, Pl. XXVI, 889.

[162] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 60, n. 406.

Parallels: The forms of this amulet, of Horus anthropomorphic and falcon-headed, are almost identical with those found at Empúries, La Bastida de les Alcuses, L'Albufereta, El Tossal de Manises, and El Cigarralejo. For its parallels in the Mediterranean area, including Egypt, cf. Empúries No. 07.17. From Villaricos itself come other vaguely similar amulets, Nos. 23.23, 23.25, and 23.26.

Conclusion: Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves: cf. remarks on Empúries no. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.25 Amulet (Pl. LXXIII)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition, bound with silver strips.

Measurements: height 1.2 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Interment 23 of Tomb 277, belonging to Astruc's Group J and Siret's II.[163] Tomb 277 was a quarrying cave which like the others of its kind hand been looted and partly destroyed.[164] Astruc emphasizes the large size and harmonious proportions of these tombs, constructed of cut stones held together with clay.[165] According to Astruc this Interment contained, besides the present amulet, one or more big pottery bowls,[166] another amulet in the form of a snake, No. 23.46,[167] and an *udjat* eye, No. 23.39.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 76, n. 535, Pl. XLII, 26.

Date: The masonry tombs are considered the oldest at Villaricos, although they were used for a long time. The presence in this Interment of a particular amulet, No. 23.46 in snake form, does suggest an early dating, with which the present amulet would not on the whole conflict, although it has no parallels in the Peninsula so far as can be judged from Astruc's sketch. For these reasons I propose, with all reserve, a 7th-6th century dating for both amulet and

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[163] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 76, n. 535.

[164] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 65, n. 459.

[165] Cf. the generic description of tombs of this type in Astruc, *Villaricos*, pp. 65f.

[166] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 72, n. 493.

[167] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 76, n. 531 and 532, notes the presence of a Bes in Tomb 560 and of two cobras in Tomb 277 (Burial 23) and refers to Pl. XLII, figs. 20, 21, and 22. But these figures are of two "Bes" and a single snake, so I presume that what we have is a mere misprint and that there was only one cobra in this Tomb.

Interment. The detail that this amulet is bound with silver connects it with No. 23.26, which also seems datable to the 7th century.

Description: Astruc describes it as a very shapeless amulet, bound with strips of silver. Her sketch does not give the slightest possibility of identification, but it seems to be an anthropomorphic deity with animal's head.

Parallels: Astruc's vague description and drawings prevent identification of the deity represented by this amulet or the naming of any parallels. For general discussion on amulets of anthropomorphic type cf. No. 23.24 and Empúries No. 07.17.

Conclusion: Amulet probably Egyptian, cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.26 Amulet (Pl. LXXIII)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition, bound with strips of gold.

Measurements: height 2.7 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum of Madrid (the piece can easily be identified on the Museum negatives Nos. 1756 and 1795) (Pl. LXVI).

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Interment 10 of Tomb 677,[168] belonging to Astruc's Group J and Siret's II. The tomb was a cave simply dug.[169] In it, according to Astruc, "some cooking pots, canthari, and vases" came to light.[170] Besides the amulet, and always according to the same author, the furniture of Interment 10 of this Tomb consisted of a pottery fragment corresponding to an urn of double truncated cone shape with rim widened into a receptacle and probably polychrome,[171] and a bronze ring.[172]

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 76, n. 535, Pl. XLII, 27.

Date: This Interment must be dated to the 7th-6th centuries if Astruc's identification of the urn is correct. The dating would thus match that of the gold-bound amulet, similar in this respect to No. 23.25 to which I have also given an early date.

Description: According to Astruc, a very shapeless amulet bound with strips of gold. In the National Archaeological Museum photographs an anthropomorphic deity can be made out, standing on a base with a scarcely discernible back-pillar, apparently of good technique. The head, however, is completely unidentifiable.

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[168] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 76, n. 535.

[169] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 67, n. 469.

[170] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 72, n. 495.

[171] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 72, n. 499, Pl. VIII, 2.

[172] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 77, n. 551.

Parallels: Cf. No. 23.25, also an anthropomorphic amulet bound with metal strips. Like the other, this one is too shapeless for exact parallels to be assigned.

Conclusion: Amulet probably Egyptian; cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.27 Amulet (Pl. LXXI)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: length 1.8 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?[173]

Circumstances of Discovery: Astruc does not say exactly whether this amulet was found in Tomb 1113 or in 1729.[174] Both tombs belong to Astruc's Group A. The case is the same with this amulet and with Nos. 23.11 and 23.28.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 21, n. 58, Pl. VIII, 10.

Date: 4th century?

Description: *Udjat* eye cut to shape inside and out.

Parallels: The *udjat* eye was one of the most popular amulets in Egypt.[175] Vercoutter notes its extraordinary frequency at Carthage,[176] and Vives lists a fair number coming from Ibiza.[177] They are also very numerous in Villaricos itself, but in the Peninsula apart from that I can only quote the isolated example from Empúries, of composition, No. 07.20.

Conclusion: Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves: cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.28 Amulet (Pl. LXXI)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: length 1.35 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum of Madrid?[178]

Circumstances of Discovery: Astruc does not say exactly whether this amulet was found in Tomb 1113 or in 1729.[179] Both tombs belong to Astruc's Group A. The case is the same with this amulet and with Nos. 23.11 and 23.27.

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[173] On the Museum's photographic negative No. 1796 we see a total of nine glazed composition *udjat* eyes, but among amulets of this type the individual pieces are so alike that it is practically impossible in such a case to distinguish one from another. And the rudimentary drawings published by Astruc cannot be said to be of much help in the task (Pl. LXVII).

[174] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 21, n. 58.

[175] Petrie, *Amulets*, pp. 32 ff., Pl. XXIV-XXV.

[176] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 273.

[177] Vives, *Arqueología cartaginesa*, pp. 104 f., Pl. XXXVIII, 1 to 14 and 17.

[178] Cf. remarks on No. 23.27.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 21, n. 58, Pl. VIII, 11.

Date: 4th century?

Description: *Udjat* eye cut to shape inside and out.

Parallels: Cf. remarks on No. 23.27.

Conclusion: Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves: cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.29 Amulet (Pl. LXXI)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: length 1.35 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?[180]

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 462,[181] belonging to Astruc's Group C and Siret's I, which I have described in connection with Amulet No. 23.12, likewise found in this Burial.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 35, n. 159, Pl. XVI, 6.

Date: 4th century?

Description: *Udjat* eye, cut to shape inside and out, and pierced.

Parallels: Cf. No. 23.27.

Conclusion: Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves; cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.30 Amulet (Pl. LXXI)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: length 1.8 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?[182]

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 462,[183] of Astruc's Group C and Siret's I. This Tomb has already been described in connection with Amulet No. 23.12, which also came to light there.

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[179] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 21, n. 58.

[180] Cf. remarks on No. 23.27.

[181] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 35, n. 159.

[182] Cf. remarks on No. 23.27.

[183] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 35, n. 159.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 35, n. 159, Pl. XVI, 7.

Date: 4th century?

Description: *Udjat* eye, cut to shape inside and out, and pierced.

Parallels: Cf. No. 23.27.

Conclusion: Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves; cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.31 Amulet (Pl. LXXI)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: length 1.8 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?[184]

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 905, belonging to Astruc's Group C and Siret's I.[185] This was an inhumation grave of the type "with lower cavity and bridge" and with four other lesser cavities throughout the length of the Tomb.[186] Among the furniture, besides the amulet, were one or two ear-rings with silver hoops[187] and two or three speckled composition beads.[188]

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 35, n. 159, Pl. XVI, 8.

Date: 4th century?

Description: *Udjat* eye, cut to shape all round and pierced.

Parallels: Cf. No. 23.27.

Conclusion: Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves; cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.32 Amulet

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: Unknown.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 955, belonging to Astruc's Group D.[189] This Tomb, with its furniture, was described in connection with Amulet No. 23.14, from the same Burial.

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[184] Cf. remarks on No. 23.27.

[185] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 35, n. 159.

[186] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 26, n. 86.

[187] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 33, n. 142.

[188] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 34, n. 153.

[189] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 41, n. 208.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 41, n. 208.

Date: 4th century?

Description: *Udjat* eye.

Parallels: Cf. remarks on No. 23.27.

Conclusion: Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves: cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.33 Amulet (Pl. LXXII)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: length 2.1 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?[190]

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 920, belonging to Astruc's Group F and Siret's V.[191] This Tomb was a rectangular inhumation grave measuring 0.60-1 m. long by 0.50 m. wide.[192] According to Astruc, besides the amulet this grave contained a bronze needle.[193]

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 51, n. 322, Pl. XXIII, 11.

Date: 6th-4th century?

Description: *Udjat* eye cut to shape all round.

Parallels: Cf. remarks on No. 23.27.

Conclusion: Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves: cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.34 Amulet (Pl. LXXII)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: length 2.55 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum of Madrid (the piece is easily recognizable on Negative No. 1796 of this Museum, owing to its large size and the ring on top) (Pl. LXVII).

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 365, of Astruc's Group H and Siret's VI,[194] consisting of a grave containing a baby's body buried in an amphora.[195] According to Astruc, besides the present amulet, there were in this Tomb three or four composition beads plain or speckled, three glass amulets of vase shape, another *udjat* eye, No. 23.35, a big bronze talisman case with a big ring on top, and two bronze finger-rings.[196]

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[190] Cf. remarks on No. 23.27.

[191] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 51, n. 322.

[192] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 49, n. 299.

[193] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 51, n. 329.

[194] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 54, n. 356.

[195] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 53, n. 353.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 54, n. 356, Pl. XXVII, 5.

Date: 6th-4th centuries?

Description: *Udjat* eye, of large size compared with the normal run of amulets of this type, and with a ring on top. It is cut to shape all round and pierced.

Parallels: Cf. remarks on No. 23.27.

Conclusion: Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves: cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.35 Amulet (Pl. LXXII)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: length 1.5 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?[197]

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 365, belonging to Astruc's Group H.[198] This Tomb and its furniture were described in connection with Amulet No. 23.34, also found there.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 54, n. 356, Pl. XXVII, 6.

Date: 6th-4th centuries?

Description: *Udjat* eye, cut out and pierced.

Parallels: Cf. remarks on No. 23.27.

Conclusion: Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves; cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.36 Amulet

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.[199]

Measurements: Unknown.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?

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[196] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 54, n. 356.

[197] Cf. remarks on No. 23.27.

[198] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 54, n. 356.

[199] Probably of glazed composition, although Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 54, does not indicate the material.

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 386, of Astruc's Group H.[200] This Tomb has already been described in connection with Amulet No. 23.17, also found there.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 54, n. 357.

Date: 4th century?

Description: *Udjat* eye of small size according to Astruc.

Parallels: Cf. remarks on No. 23.27.

Conclusion: Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves; cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.37 Amulet

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.[201]

Measurements: Unknown.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 386, of Astruc's Group H.[202] This Tomb has been described in connection with Amulet No. 23.17, also found there.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 54, n. 357.

Date: 4th century?

Description: *Udjat* eye of small size, according to Astruc.

Parallels: Cf. remarks on No. 23.27.

Conclusion: Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves: cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.38 Amulet (Pl. LXXIII)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: length 1.5 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?[203]

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 909, of Astruc's Group I.[204] This Tomb and its furniture have been described in connection with Scarab No. 23.08 and Amulet No. 23.19, both found there.

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[200] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 54, n. 357.

[201] Probably of glazed composition. Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 54, does not indicate the material.

[202] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 54, n. 357.

[203] Cf. remarks on No. 23.27.

[204] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 60, n. 408.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 60, n. 408, Pl. XXXII, 20.

Date: The furniture of this Tomb may be dated to the 4th century, and this would correspond with Scarab No. 23.08 and so must also agree with the present Amulet.

Description: *Udjat* eye cut to shape.

Parallels: Cf. remarks on No. 23.27.

Conclusion: Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves; cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.39 Amulet (Pl. LXXIII)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: length 1.35 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?[205]

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Interment 23 of Tomb 277, belonging to Astruc's Group J.[206] The Tomb and furniture were described in connection with Amulet No. 23.25, which came to light as part of the same furniture.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 76, n. 534, Pl. XLII, 24.

Date: The Tomb with all its furniture seems datable to the 7th-6th centuries, although with many reserves; cf. Amulet No. 23.25.

Description: *Udjat* eye cut to shape.

Parallels: Cf. remarks on No. 23.27.

Conclusion: Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves: cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.40 Amulet (Pl. LXXI)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: height 2.7 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 1722, belonging to Astruc's Group E and Siret's III.[207] It was a cremation burial of the round or square hole type with a diameter or side of about 50 cm. and the same depth, lined with stones, or small pieces of slate, covered with plaster, with mud-brick, or with sherds bound with clay.[208] According to Astruc the furniture included besides the amulet 29 plain glass beads.[209]

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[205] Cf. remarks on No. 23.27.

[206] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 76, n. 534.

[207] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 44, n. 239.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 44, n. 239, Pl. XX, 15.

Date: 4th century?

Description: According to Astruc's drawing, though she does not identify the animal, a cat seated on a base, with a ring on its shoulders and a strange extension to its head, probably the ears. Undoubtedly a zoomorphic representation of the goddess Bastet.

Parallels: Amulets of this type are well known in Egypt,[210] and appear frequently in Carthage[211] and in the Punic world, as for instance in Sardinia.[212] In the Peninsula, however, I can quote no other examples but those from Villaricos. Some examples have been found in Ibiza.[213]

Conclusion: Amulet probably Egyptian, but with some reserves. Cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.41 Amulet (Pl. LXXII)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: height 3 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum of Madrid (this piece seems identifiable on negatives Nos. 1756 and 1795 of the Museum).

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 1028, of Astruc's Group H and Siret's VI,[214] inhumation burial of a child in an amphora.[215] Astruc lists among the furniture of this Tomb, besides the present Amulet, a seated cat, another similar Amulet, No. 23.42.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 54, n. 358, Pl. XXVII, 9.

Date: 4th century?

Description: Cat seated on a base, with a ring on the shoulders: zoomorphic representation of Bastet.

Parallels: Cf. remarks on No. 23.40.

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[208] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 43, n. 221.

[209] Astruc, *Villaricos*, pp. 44, n. 235, and 46, n. 258.

[210] Petrie, *Amulets*, p. 46, 224, Pl. XXXIX. Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 268, fig. 9.

[211] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 274.

[212] Taramelli, Lavagnino, *Museo di Sassari*, p. 38; amulets from Tharros.

[213] Vives, *Arqueologia cartaginesa*, pp. 103f., No. 625, Pl. XXXVII, 15, 17.

[214] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 54, n. 358.

[215] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 53, n. 353.

Conclusion: Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves. Cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.42 Amulet

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.
Measurements: Unknown.
Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?
Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 1028, of Astruc's Group H, together with Amulet No. 23.41.[216]

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 54, n. 358.

Date: 4th century?
Description: Seated cat with a ring on the shoulders: zoomorphic representation of the goddess Bastet.
Parallels: Cf. remarks on No. 23.40.
Conclusion: Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves. Cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.43 Amulet (Pl. LXXIII)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.
Measurements: height 1.05 cm.
Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?
Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 909, of Astruc's Group I,[217] which has already been described with its furniture in connection with Scarab No. 23.08 and Amulet No. 23.19, both of which came to light there.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 60, n. 409, Pl. XXXII, 21.

Date: This Tomb has 4th-century dating which agrees with Scarab No. 23.08 and undoubtedly also with the present Amulet.
Description: Cat seated on a base, with a ring on its shoulders: zoomorphic representation of the goddess Bastet.
Parallels: Cf. remarks on No. 23.40.
Conclusion: Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves. Cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

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[216] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 54, n. 358.
[217] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 60, n. 409.

Villaricos, No. 23.44 Amulet (Pl. LXXI)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: height 1.5 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum of Madrid (this piece can be seen on the Museum's Negative No. 1796) (Pl. LXVII).

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 462, of Astruc's Group C,[218] which has been described, with its furniture, in connection with Amulet No. 23.12.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 35, n. 160, Pl. XVI, 9.

Date: 4th century?

Description: Falcon at rest on a base, with a big suspension ring on its shoulders: zoomorphic representation of the god Horus.

Parallels: This amulet is well known in Egypt from prehistoric times, and examples are to be found from all historic periods.[219] In Carthage it attained a particular abundance in the 4th century, going right on into the 3rd.[220] It is also found in Sardinia.[221] In the Peninsula we only know the examples from Villaricos, but it is well in evidence on the other hand in Ibiza.[222]

Conclusion: Amulet probably Egyptian, but with some reserves; cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.45 Amulet

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: Unknown.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum of Madrid (this piece can be seen on Museum Negative No. 1796) (Pl. LXVII).

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 939, belonging to Astruc's Group C and Siret's I.[223] It was an inhumation grave, simple with bridge, produced by digging two cavities.[224] Astruc does not mention any other piece of furniture from this Tomb.

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[218] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 35, n. 160.

[219] Petrie, *Amulets*, pp. 48 f., No. 245, Pl. XLI and XLII.

[220] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 274, fig. 17.

[221] Taramelli, Lavagnino, *Museo di Sassari*, p. 38; examples from Tharros.

[222] Vives, *Arqueologia cartaginesa*, p. 104, Nos. 629-632, Pl. XXXVII, 1-6.

[223] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 35, n. 160.

[224] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 27, n. 95.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 35, n. 160.

Date: 4th Century?

Description: Falcon at rest on a base and with a big ring on its shoulders: zoomorphic representation of Horus.

Parallels: Cf. remarks on No. 23.44.

Conclusion: Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves; cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

Villaricos, No. 23.46 Amulet (Pl. LXXIII)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.

Measurements: height 1.35 cm., length 1.35 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Burial 23 of Tomb 277, of Astruc's Group J.[225] This Tomb and its burial furniture were described in connection with Amulet No. 23.25, also found there.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 76, n. 532, Pl. XLII, 22.

Date: This Burial can be dated, though with many reserves, to the 7th-6th centuries in agreement with this singular amulet. Cf. also on No. 23.25.

Description: Snake rearing up on a base — a cobra or asp — the *uraeus* of the Egyptians.

Parallels: This amulet is known in Egypt, according to Petrie from the XXVIth Dynasty onward.[226] It appears with relative frequency at Carthage[227] and in Sardinia.[228] On the other hand, the only example we know from the Iberian Peninsula is the present. A few pieces are known also from Ibiza.[229]

Conclusion: Amulet probably Egyptian, but with some reserves; cf. remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

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[225] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 76, n. 532, says that two amulets in the form of cobras were found in this Burial, and in her Footnote 531 says that only one Bes was found in Tomb 560. However, she refers to Pl. XLII, 20-22, which shows two Bes's and one cobra. So I have presumed that a mistake has occurred in the text and that in Burial 23 of Tomb 277 only one cobra was found.

[226] Petrie, *Amulets*, pp. 18 f., No. 58, Pl. IV.

[227] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 274, fig. 16.

[228] Taramelli, Lavagnino, *Museo di Sassari*, p. 38: examples from Tharros.

[229] Vives, *Arqueología cartaginesa*, p. 104, No. 633, Pl. XXXVII, 10-12.

Villaricos, No. 23.47 Amulet (Pl. LXXIII)

Material and Colour: Bone.

Measurements: height 3.45 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum of Madrid (this piece can be seen on the Museum Negatives Nos. 1756 and 1795) (Pl. LXVI).

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Burial 2 of Tomb 1000, belonging to Astruc's Group J and Siret's II,[230] a tomb of the cave type simply dug.[231] Besides the amulet, Astruc mentions as furniture of this Burial miniature bronze bells[232] and sea-shells.[233]

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 76, n. 538, Pl. XLII, 28.

Date: The little bronze bells of this Burial are an early element in the necropolises of the Peninsular Mediterranean littoral and to be dated generally to the 6th century, possibly coming down to the 5th. This must be the dating of the present curious amulet.

Description: Astruc identifies this amulet as an "Osiris pillar". But the piece, or the drawing of it at any rate, does not in the least remotely recall the characteristic *djed*, the Osiris pillar. We cannot exclude the possibilitity that the amulet may be a very degenerate Western imitation of the *djed* pillar, but in any case the identification proposed by Astruc is very problematical. The amulet has a ring on top and, according to Astruc's drawing, consists in its upper and lower parts of some horizontal mouldings, between which is a prismatic shape vertically fluted. This type of amulet is often called also a "Nilometer".

Parallels: A type of amulet well known in the Punic world. By way of example I can quote some instances from Ibiza.[234]

Conclusion: Amulet manufactured undoubtedly in the West, the Egyptian or even Egyptianizing character of which is very doubtful.

Villaricos, No. 23.48 Trinket (Pl. LXVI)

Material and Colour: Gold.

Measurements: Unknown.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum (this piece is reproduced on the Museum's photographic Negatives Nos. 1756, 1795 and 8182).

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[230] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 76, n. 538.

[231] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 67, n. 469.

[232] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 76, n. 541.

[233] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 81, n. 594.

[234] Vives, *Arqueologia cartaginesa*, p. 83, No. 479, Pl. XXIX.

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 838, belonging to Astruc's Group C and Siret's I.[235] The Tomb was a simple grave 2-2.50 m. long by 50 cm. broad, and 1-1.50 m. deep.[236] No other object of furniture is mentioned by Astruc.

Bibliography: Bosch, *Arte en España*, p. 174, No. 6285. Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 33, n. 138.

Date: Bosch dates this piece to the 5th-4th centuries, I suppose solely on stylistic grounds.[237] For my part, also on these same stylistic criteria alone, I think the piece may be older, perhaps 6th century. In default of anything more decisive, I date the piece merely as 6th-4th-century.

Description: Signet-ring with a seal representing a winged female deity. She is on foot with open wings, making the gesture of protection, and holding up the *maât* feather in her hands. She seems to be wearing a headdress consisting of two horns. Above her is the sun and moon representation characteristic of the Punic world, and below a kind of schematization of the *nb* sign. The design is surrounded by a line. The deity is difficult to identify but is probably Hathor.

Parallels: I can quote a few other finger-rings found in the Iberian Peninsula, in a Punic context, with an Egyptianizing representation on their bezels. I recall, for example, the ring from La Joya Necropolis (Huelva),[238] and that from Los Villares de Andújar, preserved in the Museum of Linares.[239] Finger-rings with bezel are relatively numerous in Punic deposits.[240]

Conclusion: Without doubt an Egyptianizing piece of work, of Punic manufacture, as is proved by the characteristic sun-and-moon representation crowning the seal design.

Villaricos, No. 23.49 Trinket (Pl. LXXI)

Material and Colour: Gold.

Measurements: length 1.05 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 462, of Astruc's Group C.[241] This Tomb and its furniture have been described in connection with Amulet No. 23.12, which also came to light there.

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[235] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 33, n. 138.

[236] Astruc, *Villaricos*, pp. 26f., n. 93.

[237] Bosch, *Arte en España*, p. 174, No. 6285.

[238] Garrido, "*La Joya*", p. 31, fig. 19, 1, Pl. XVIII.

[239] Contreras, *Oretania*, II, 6, pp. 294ff.

[240] Cf. e.g. Vives, *Arqueologia cartaginesa*, pp. 48f.

[241] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 34, n. 155.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 34, n. 155, Pl. XVI, 4.

Date: 4th century?

Description: *Udjat* eye cut to shape, hollow, with repoussée ornament. The profile of the eye is marked by a cord in relief.

Parallels: In connection with No. 23.27 I have already referred to the extraordinary abundance of *glazed composition* amulets representing the udjat eye. In *gold* there is another example from Cadiz, on view in the City Museum there, similar to those we are now considering from Villaricos. Golden udjats are fairly numerous in the Punic world.[242]

Conclusion: Probably a Pseudoegyptian piece, the work of Punic goldsmiths.

Villaricos, No. 23.50 Trinket (Pl. LXXI)

Material and Colour: Gold.

Measurements: length 1.8 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 471, belonging to Astruc's Group C and Siret's I.[243] This Tomb was an inhumation grave with simple lower cavity, 2.50-2.90 m. long, 1 m. broad, and 0.50-3.10 m. deep, while the lower cavity had the same length as the grave, 0.60 m. breadth, and 1 m. depth.[244] The grave also had a niche of some 50 × 15 cm., housing a small jar.[245] As furniture, besides the present trinket, Astruc mentions an ostrich egg shell in the form of a painted vase,[246] a few small jars, [247] one or two earrings with golden hoops[248] and spherical golden beads,[249] amber beads, and speckled composition beads.[250]

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 34, n. 155, Pl. XVI, 5.

Date: 4th century?

Description: *Udjat* eye cut to shape, hollow with repoussée decoration. The outline of the eye is emphasized by a cord in relief.

Parallels: Cf. remarks on No. 23.49.

Conclusion: Probably a Pseudoegyptian piece, the work of Punic goldsmiths.

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[242] Vives, *Arqueología cartaginesa*, p. 42, No. 105, mentions several examples from Sardinia.

[243] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 34, n. 155.

[244] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 25, n. 82.

[245] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 28, n. 104.

[246] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 29, n. 112.

[247] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 31, n. 123.

[248] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 33, n. 140.

[249] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 34, n. 147.

[250] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 34, n. 152, 153.

Villaricos, No. 23.51 Trinket

Material and Colour: Gold.

Measurements: Unknown.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 1090, belonging to Astruc's Group C and to Siret's I.[251] This was an inhumation grave with lower cavity and bridge, at the two extremes of which two other trenches were dug the whole width of the grave, some 10-20 cm. deep and some 25-50 cm. long. In most cases these two trenches were for the feet.[252] Besides the present trinket, Astruc mentions as furniture of this Tomb a bronze ring,[253] one or two earrings with gold hoops,[254] 25 gold beads, four cornelian and one amber bead, one silver bead, spherical and plain,[255] and some fifty very tiny bronze weapons, which came to light with necklace remnants beside the head and measured 14-24 cm. in length.[256] Bosch adds to this furniture a glass armband.[257]

Bibliography: Bosch, *Arte en España*, p. 174, No. 6286. Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 34, n. 155.

Date: 4th century? Bosch assigns it a 5th-4th-century dating, but without giving reasons.

Description: *Udjat* eye with the features marked by a granular cord.

Parallels: Cf. remarks on No. 23.49.

Conclusion: Probably a Pseudoegyptian piece, the work of Punic goldsmiths.

Villaricos, No. 23.52 Trinket

Material and Colour: Silver.

Measurements: Unknown.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 462, of Astruc's Group C.[258] This Tomb and its furniture have been described in connection with Amulet No. 23.12, which also came to light there.

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[251] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 34, n. 155.

[252] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 26, n. 84.

[253] Astruc, *Villaricos*, pp. 32 f., n. 133.

[254] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 33, n. 140.

[255] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 34, n. 149 and 154.

[256] Astruc, *Villaricos*, pp. 34 f., n. 158.

[257] Bosch, *Arte en España*, p. 174, No. 6286.

[258] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 34, n. 156.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 34, n. 156.

Date: 4th century?

Description: *Udjat* eye, hollow and much damaged, according to Astruc.

Parallels: Cf. No. 23.49, for discussion of gold *udjat* eyes. To these I can add an example in silver from Ibiza.[259]

Conclusion: Probably a Pseudoegyptian piece, the work of Punic goldsmiths.

Villaricos, No. 23.53 Trinket

Material and Colour: Unspecified metal.

Measurements: Unknown.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 832, belonging to Astruc's Group C and Siret's I.[260] Astruc fails to mention the type of tomb to which No. 832 belonged in her group, and does not mention any other piece of its furniture. We know from Bosch, however, that the present piece was accompanied in its tomb by a necklace of amulets of green glazed composition, evidently Egyptian.[261]

Bibliography: Bosch, *Arte en España*, p. 175, No. 6287. Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 34, n. 157.

Date: Bosch dates this assemblage to the 5th-4th centuries.[262] In reality, with the data at our disposal, it is quite impossible now to give any exact dating.

Description: Astruc merely says that this is an amulet case, without giving either description or drawing. Bosch, for his part, confines himself to calling it "a case with papyrus". It is thus impossible to form any precise idea what the piece was like.

Parallels: —.

Conclusion: It is impossible to attempt a classification of this piece.

Villaricos, No. 23.54 Figure of a Deity (Pls LXXIV-LXXV)

Material and Colour: Bronze.

Measurements: height 7 cm.

Place of Keeping: Almeria Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 13364).

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[259] Vives, *Arqueologia cartaginesa*, pp. 52f., No. 177, Pl. X, 4.

[260] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 34, n. 157.

[261] Bosch, *Arte en España*, p. 175, No. 6287.

[262] Bosch, *Arte en España*, p. 175, No. 6287.

Circumstances of Discovery: Unknown. The piece formed part of the Collection of Don Juan Cuadrado Ruiz and from there passed to the Almeria Archaeological Museum together with the rest of the Villaricos material that is at present in that museum. In the Almeria Museum card index the provenance of the piece is merely given as Villaricos without further indication.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

Date: It is difficult to assign an exact date to this piece which was probably cast in Egypt in the Late Period. Its stylization and simplicity of line suggest a late date to me, perhaps between the 4th century and the full Roman period.

Description: Standing representation of Osiris as mummy. The god wears the *atef* crown and the false beard, and his two arms emerging from his shroud-wrapped body are crossed over his breast, holding the sceptre *heqa* and the scourge, symbols of his authority as Lord of the Other World. The figure today is in very bad condition, owing to its advanced oxidation, so that its detail cannot be properly appreciated. In general terms we can emphasize its almost geometrical simplicity of conception, however, and the litheness of the figure, especially in the profile which is extraordinarily delicate. All this gives the image a great lightness of line and thus, despite its schematization, a particular quality such as is not usual in representations of the kind.

Parallels: Bronze statuettes of Osiris are frequent in Egypt and rather similar to the Villaricos one. Petrie assigns to them a chronology extending from the XXVIth Dynasty to the Roman period.[263] In the Western world these bronze images of Egyptian deities are very scarce and their dating is nearly always uncertain. We may quote as an example a "heart of Osiris" found by chance in Carthage in unknown circumstances,[264] and an image of Imhotep (or Imouthes) found very recently, in 1974, by G. Rosselló Bordoy in the course of a cleaning up campaign on the Talayotic assemblage of Torre d'En Gaumés in Minorca. This image also of bronze came to light in a context described as uncertain by its excavator.[265] The Seville bronze image, Egyptianizing and with a Phoenician inscription on its base, representing Astarte-Hathor, cannot be considered strictly so much an Egyptian as a Phoenician figure, though it may have been manufactured by a Phoenician community resident at Memphis.[266] On the other hand, the statue of Harpocrates with Punic inscription in the National Archaeological Museum is of Egyptian manufacture.[267]

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[263] Petrie, *Amulets*, p. 36, No. 157, Pl. XXVIII.

[264] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 280f., fig. 20. This author mentions the presence at Carthage merely of another Egyptian bronze object, probably the god Shu (p. 281, n. 1).

[265] Rosselló, Sánchez-Cuenca y Montaner, *Mayurqa*, XII, pp. 123ff. = Rosselló, Sánchez-Cuenca y Montaner, *Imhotep*.

Conclusion: The scarcity of these bronze images in the West is decisive evidence of their Egyptian manufacture. This is confirmed by the genuinely Egyptian character of the attributes of the deities represented, even though they may appear highly schematized and simplified. What is not at all clear about the Villaricos Osiris is whether it may have come to light in a Roman or pre-Roman tomb, and in the former case whether it found its way to Villaricos at a period already Roman or at an earlier time.

Villaricos, No. 23.55 Vessel

Material and Colour: Alabaster.

Measurements: Unknown.

Place of Keeping: Lost.[268]

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 1723, belonging to Astruc's Group I and Siret's III.[269] This was a cremation burial, with the ashes in a pottery urn standing on its own in a small hole, in the middle and not very deep.[270] Astruc does not mention any other piece of furniture from this Tomb.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 63, n. 441 bis.

Date: ?

Description: Astruc says merely that this is a small *alabastron*. It is thus impossible to know whether it is an Egyptian *alabastron*, akin to others of the same origin which are coming to light here and there in several Phoenician and Punic deposits of Andalusia.

Parallels: —.

Conclusion: We cannot know whether this is an Egyptian vessel or not, Greek, for instance.

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[266] For a summing-up see García y Bellido, *V SIPP*, pp. 164 ff.

[267] Ferron, *TPreh.*, 28, pp. 359 ff. However the provenance of this piece, which had formed part of the Dávila Collection in the 18th century, is unknown.

[268] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 63.

[269] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 63, n. 441 bis.

[270] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 55, n. 361.

Villaricos, No. 23.56 Spoon (Pl. LXXIII)

Material and Colour: Ivory.

Measurements: greatest length 8.1 cm. in its present state of preservation; breadth 4.8 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid?

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Burial 11 of Tomb 677, of Astruc's Group J.[271] The Tomb has already been described in connection with Amulet 23.26, which also came to light there. Astruc does not mention any other piece from the furniture of Burial 11 in this Tomb.

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 80, n. 584, Pl. XLVI, 1.

Date: I have already indicated that the dating of Burial 10 of this same Tomb must be 7th-century, if Astruc has not made a mistake; cf. the discussion of Amulet No. 23.26. The present spoon also appears to me to be an early piece with a dating which may well be 7th-century.

Description: Fragment of spoon the handle of which has been preserved. It is plain and without decoration except for the sign ☥ *ʿnḫ* or "cross of life" engraved on the side at the point where the handle left the cup.

Parallels: In the *Castillo-Museo de Mairena del Alcor*, and originating from the Cruz del Negro Necropolis, there is on view an "Egyptian ivory spatula", which is the only similar object known to me in the Iberian Peninsula.

Conclusion: Like the numerous ivory panels, it is very possible that this is an Egyptianizing piece, manufactured in the same Western workshop, perhaps Gadir, as they.

Villaricos, No. 23.57 Intaglio

Material and Colour: Agate.

Measurements: length 2.4 cm., breadth 1.8 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid? Lost?[272]

Circumstances of Discovery: Found on the surface of the ground, in isolation and without archaeological context.[273]

Bibliography: Siret, *Villaricos y Herrerias*, p. 86 (462), Pl. XIX, 4.

Date: According to Siret's drawing, this intaglio is executed in the "globular technique" and its date must be 4th-3rd-century.

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[271] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 80, n. 584.

[272] This piece is not mentioned by Astruc.

[273] Siret, *Villaricos y Herrerias*, p. 86 (462), 4.

Description: I know nothing of the back of this piece, which I suppose to have been plain. On the reverse is a clothed personage moving to the left. He wears a strange cap in the shape of a turban, according to Siret's drawing. He holds up the palm of his right hand, while with the left he is holding up a long object in a horizontal position. This object emerges from behind the personage's neck and from its end hand two cords, nooses or the like. In front of this personage and also facing left rises a *uraeus* crowned with the sun-disk. The engraving technique of this intaglio, as can be seen in Siret's drawing, is characteristic of the globular style. Siret connects this scene with the judgement of the dead though apparently without much basis (Pl. LXX).

Parallels: Scarabs of "globular technique" with Egyptianizing features in their design are in general fairly abundant. I do not however know any parallel for that on the Villaricos intaglio.

Conclusion: Egyptianizing piece, perhaps of Etruscan manufacture.

Villaricos, No. 23.58 Panel (Pl. LXXII)

Material and Colour: Ivory.

Measurements: length (present maximum) 4.5 cm.

Place of Keeping: National Archaeological Museum, Madrid? Astruc thought that nothing could have been left of it, since the moment she had got it out and while she was drawing it it almost completely disintegrated.[274]

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 294, belonging to Astruc's Group E and Siret's III.[275] This Tomb was of the type of small more or less circular holes, dug in the sand or in the rock, from 30 cm.-1 m. diameter and 15-50 cm. depth, covered with earth or closed up with stones or small slates and sherds.[276] According to Astruc in the Tomb furniture besides the ivory panel there was a goblet.[277]

Bibliography: Astruc, *Villaricos*, pp. 45, n. 253, 180 f., Pl. XXI, 2.

Date: This ivory panel, comparable to those from Carmona, must be of early date, probably of the 7th or 6th century.

Description: Astruc could only draw some fragments of this panel. Her description of them is as follows: "Part of a male figure, the hand of a second figure holding an object (a cup?), the wing of a sphinx or a winged figure, three fragments of papyrus flower half open, a species of palm, and a tree trunk the bark of which is represented by cross-hatching of oblique lines".[278] Elsewhere Astruc remarks that these drawings are finely engraved.[279]

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[274] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 180.
[275] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 45, n. 253.
[276] Astruc, *Villaricos*, pp. 42 f., n. 220.
[277] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 44, n. 228.

Parallels: Little can be added under this head to what was said by Astruc herself. Thus we may cite the ivories of Carthage, Carmona, Osuna, and Setefilla, all western deposits, which according to Astruc have many characteristics in common with this Villaricos panel.[280]

Conclusion: Egyptianizing piece, of Punic manufacture. It would be quite impossible to define more nearly its originating workshop (Lower Andalusia, Carthage...) in the West.

24. SEXI, ALMUÑÉCAR (GRANADA)

The Cerro de San Cristóbal is situated a bare kilometre north-west of the town of Almuñécar, from which it is separated by the watercourse, a former estuary of the River Seco, and by the Barranco (Ravine) de la China. The slopes of the Cerro de San Cristóbal ascend from the sea to the Barranco. In October 1962 work was begun here on the building of a new block of flats. On 1 November a first urn burial was discovered. But it was not made known to anyone at the time. The construction work continued and in February 1963 there began to appear, at a considerable depth and without any external warning signs, some wells dug in the natural schist of the hill. In this way the first burials were uncovered and their spectacular grave-goods caused the news to spread rapidly about Almuñécar. The importance of the finds prompted Señora Laura de Prieto Moreno, wife of the architect in charge, to inform Señor Pita Andrade, the Delegate for Excavations in Granada. On his report the Delegación General de Bellas Artes entrusted the excavation of the deposit to the then professor of Granada University, Dr. Manuel Pellicer Catalán, who proceeded to Almuñécar early in April only to find that 11 tombs had already been excavated, only one of them by Señor Pita and two others in the presence of the son of Señor Francisco Prieto Moreno, the architect. Important material from them had already disappeared, an *alabastron* for instance with a hieroglyphic inscription carried off by some French tourists and perhaps several articles of jewellery, as we are reliably assured by persons well acquainted with the region. On the other hand the broken pottery had been tipped out on to the spoil-heaps.

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[278] Astruc, *Villaricos*, pp. 180f.

[279] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 45.

[280] Astruc, *Villaricos*, p. 181.

Professor Pellicer conducted two excavation campaigns, one in April and a second in July 1963, by the end of which nine more tombs had been found and the excavators had been able to assure themselves that there were no other burials in the area. They obtained drawings and photographs of those excavated before their arrival and regrouped as much of the material from them as was still accessible. A memoir of the excavation was published the same year 1963.[1]

So in the Cerro de San Cristóbal Necropolis at Almuñécar, which corresponds with almost absolute certainty to the ancient Phoenician colony of Sexi,[2] a total of 20 tombs were discovered (Pl. CXXX). These are wells dug in the mountain rock, each some 3-4 m. deep, with a more or less circular ground plan. All have a side niche, closed with stone slabs, where the cinerary urn was placed. The cinerary urns, and this is the most important and original thing about the Necropolis, are always large alabaster jars of Egyptian manufacture, and some actually have a hieroglyphic inscription. Four of them bear the cartouches of Osorkon II, Takelot II, and Sheshonq III, pharaohs of the XXIInd Dynasty, who reigned in succession in the 9th-8th centuries. As for the furniture so far as it has been preserved, it is surprisingly poor apart from the *alabastra* themselves, consisting only of pieces of pottery, and some insignificant trinkets. But as I have already indicated we have no guarantee that the furniture of the first 11 tombs was complete when Professor Pellicer made its acquaintance.[3]

The problems posed by this Necropolis are very important. I consider them here under four heads, always bearing in mind their close relationship with one another: (a) The *alabastra*; (b) The cremation rite; (c) Origin of the population; (d) Chronology.

(a) The *alabastra*. What was the origin of these large alabaster vessels and how did they reach the colony of Sexi and its Cerro de San Cristóbal Necropolis? To answer this question I must anticipate the chronological evidence that this Necropolis went out of use at a date which coincided and was possibly connected with events in Asia in the year 677 B.C. when the Assyrian ruler Esarhaddon destroyed Sidon and severed Phoenicia's relations with Egypt. We know that in the booty carried off by the Assyrians there were Egyptian *alabastra*, coming from Phoenician warehouses, which were evidently regarded as objects of great value, as we know from the cuneiform inscription overprinted on one of these jars found at Assur.[4] Assyrian pillars may well have meant the end of the *alabastron* depositories in Phoenicia. The constant references not only by the hieroglyphic inscriptions but also by those in cuneiform to the original contents of the *alabastra*, consisting as they did of more or less valuable liquids, are explanation enough of their primary use.[5] On the other hand their presence in the towns of Phoenicia and Palestine, as later on in the orbit of the Persian Empire, is satisfactorily explained as a consequence of commercial exchanges with Egypt and more especially of Egypt's diplomatic dealings with its Asiatic neighbours. Initiatives of the kind seem to have been taken by this very Pharaoh Osorkon II in imitation of those which had been taken previously in the time of Akhenaten, Horemheb, and Ramesses II.[6] It was a case in fact of offering certain produce, whether as presents or in trade, in containers which enhanced their value. Evidently the Phoenicians must have prized the container more than the contents, as is proved by the fact that they considered the *alabastra* worthy to house their mortal remains. This custom has been found strange by several writers,[7] but reflects a mentality which seems typical enough of peoples who receive objects of value originating in countries at a higher level of civilization than their own. Thus the Phoenician colonists of Sexi who had themselves buried in alabaster containers intended for the storage of liquids remind us of that King of Aragon Peter III the Great, who had himself buried in the monastery of Santes Creus inside a porphyry bathtub received as a present from the East. Moreover, the Phoenico-Punic custom here in question must have gained additional force from the feeling that their Egyptian cartouches and hieroglyphics were themselves a protection for the dead (Pl. CXXXI).

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[1] Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, especially pp. 5 ff.

[2] Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 3 ff. Maluquer, *Zephyrus*, XIV, pp. 57 ff.

[3] Maluquer, *Zephyrus*, XIV, p. 58, mentioned this point as early as 1963.

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[4] Culican, *Levant*, 2, pp. 29ff. with the translation of this cuneiform text. The jar in question can be seen in García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, p. 17, fig. 9.

[5] Leclant, *Role of the Phoenicians*, p. 13. Culican, *Levant*, 2, pp. 29f. Gamer-Wallert, *XII CNA*, pp. 405ff.

[6] Leclant, *Role of the Phoenicians*, p. 13. Cintas, *Manuel*, I, p. 436. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 324. The theory suggested by Maluquer, *Zephyrus*, XIV, p. 59 (also in Maluquer, *Tartessos*, p. 75), and accepted by Gamer-Wallert, *XII CNA*, p. 408, explaining that the robbery of the Royal Necropolis at Tanis could have been the source which supplied the Phoenician world with *alabastra*, though it cannot be absolutely dismissed in any specific case, nevertheless does not explain satisfactorily the proliferation of material of this type during several centuries outside Egypt. The presence of an *alabastron* with the names of Osorkon I in the tomb of Takelot II can be perfectly well explained by the custom among the pharaohs of having themselves buried with more ancient objects.

[7] Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 51. Leclant, *Role of the Phoenicians*, p. 25, n. 32, and especially Gamer-Wallert, *TPreh.*, 29, p. 270, and Gamer-Wallert, *XII CNA*, p. 401.

(b) The rite of cremation. Its use in this Necropolis must be considered in the general context of its introduction in the Mediterranean world about the year 1000 B.C. Pellicer has made a detailed study of this problem. He points to the numerous Phoenician and Punic Necropolises in which the cremation rite was employed, despite its being generally recognized as a non-Semitic rite, and concludes that it was introduced in the Eastern Mediterranean by the Indo-European invasions, that is by the Sea Peoples.[8] Once the cremation rite had been introduced among the Mediterranean peoples, Pellicer thinks that its use in the necropolises of Carmona for instance, was due to their influence. The Cerro de San Cristóbal Necropolis has many points of kinship with these and Pellicer thus feels able to reject the traditional explanation of the phenomenon as due to Celtic penetration.[9] So it seems clear that cremation was introduced in Sexi by its Phoenician colonists in the same way as they carried it to other areas of the Western Mediterranean, for instance to Carthage itself, where it would be absurd to invoke a Celtic presence.[10]

(c) The population. Many opinions have been expressed regarding the origin of the colony of Sexi. Pellicer considers the colony and Necropolis as Punic, meaning by that West Semite (in agreement with García y Bellido). He supposes them however to have been mixed with other races and peoples.[11] Maluquer prefers to emphasize the native element (particularly female) in the colony,[12] while Leclant thinks the Necropolis (and therefore the colony) had more of Phoenician than Punic about it.[13] For my part, in an attempt to be more specific, I should like to suggest two possibilities. In the first place, we must not lose sight of Cintas' argument (to which I shall return in connection with the dating) connecting the Cerro de San Cristóbal Necropolis with the tombs and earliest levels of Carthage. Sexi may well have been populated from Carthage, as Ferron maintains on onomastic grounds,[14] and possibly this occurred soon after the actual foundation of Carthage, as one of its first colonial undertakings. In the second place, we must not lose sight of the importance which the city of Gadir (Cadiz) must have had at this time. Evidence of this importance has recently been coming to light indirectly, despite the lack of direct archaeological documentation from the city itself.

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[8] Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 47 f.

[9] Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 48 ff., and especially 49.

[10] Maluquer, *Zephyrus*, XIV, pp. 60 f., suggests that the rite of cremation was imposed in Sexi by the native element in the population of the colony, but this seems to me simply improbable in the light of the evidence I have just quoted.

[11] Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 42.

[12] Maluquer, *Zephyrus*, XIV, pp. 60 f.

[13] Leclant, *Role of the Phoenicians*, p. 13.

[14] Ferron, *TPreh.*, 27, pp. 182 f.

This lack continues to be felt and without it we must wait for positive confirmation of the early date of the city's foundation and its fundamental importance in the Far West. At this very moment we have a clear picture of the existence of a focus of Phoenicio-Punic industry and culture in the Lower Guadalquivir which must for instance have been the source of the engraved ivories of the Carmona region but which beyond that would have supplied the Peninsula with the wheel-made painted urns and metal products, bronze pitchers and trinkets,[15] and perhaps also such articles of importation as *alabastra*. This focus, already in full expansion in the 8th century, cannot have been other than Gadir, the one Peninsular city which we know to have been founded three centuries earlier by the Phoenicians, according to classical texts. It is thus very plausible to make these people of Cadiz, in full expansion, responsible for the foundation of the chain of Phoenician agencies which line the Mediterranean coast of Andalusia, perhaps — who knows? — precisely as a countervailing measure against the dawning influence of Carthage. One of these agencies would of course be Sexi, which in the 8th-7th centuries had already reached a high material and cultural level, as is proved by the furniture of its Necropolis at Cerro de San Cristóbal. These are much superior in quality to everything so far known from Carthage or any other Punic settlement and may well be only a pale reflection of the level reached at that moment by their Gaditan metropolis.

(d) The Chronology. It remains to give this Necropolis as exact a dating as possible. Its material may then be able to help us date other deposits close to it in time or place. Among those elements from Cerro de San Cristóbal which can be exactly dated are the four *alabastra* already mentioned as bearing the cartouches of kings of Egypt's XXIInd Dynasty.[16] All the Egyptian inscriptions which have so far come to light were communicated by Pellicer to Leclant,[17] but a conclusive study of them was held up by practical difficulties. In the memoir of the excavations which was published almost at once the cartouches of the *alabastron* of Tomb 1 had already been identified as those of Takelot II, those found in Tombs 17 and 20 as those of Osorkon II, and that found in Tomb 16 as belonging to Sheshonq II.[18] The dating assigned to these pharaohs was that of Drioton and Vandier's manual of the History of

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[15] Aubet, *Pyrenae*, 7, p. 128.

[16] Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, figs. 5, 1; 24, 2; 26, 2; 34, 2; Pl. VII, 1, 3, 4 and 5; VIII, 1 and 3; XI. Pellicer, *MMitt.*, 4, figs. 6, 1; 15, 2; 16, 2; 21, 2; Pl. 11a, b; 12a; 13a, b. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, fig. 49, Pl. 77 A, 81 A and B, 83 A and B, 85 B.

[17] Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 52. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 33, 2-3, p. 403.

[18] Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 16, 24, 38 and 52. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 33, 2-3, pp. 403f.

Egypt, already a classic,[19] and subsequently every writer concerned with the Cerro de San Cristóbal Necropolis has accepted without discussion the identification of the cartouches of Osorkon II, Sheshonq II, and Takelot II and even noted that the Pharaohs concerned reigned in succession.[20] Only Kitchen in a book published in 1973, seems to have realized that a mistake had been made, and corrected it without comment. In what was obviously an allusion to Almuñécar he noted the finding in Spain of *alabastra* from the reigns of Osorkon II, Takelot II, and Sheshonq III. But he confined this remark to a footnote and otherwise referred without further explanation to the work of Leclant and Blázquez.[21] In fact, though there is no doubt about the cartouches of Takelot II and almost none about those of Osorkon II, there has been a confusion about the cartouche of Tomb 16, which is indeed that of Sheshonq III and not Sheshonq II as was at first alleged.[22] The dating of this Necropolis must thus be reconsidered. In his recent work Kitchen has revised the absolute chronology of the pre-Saite period in Egypt. In respect of the XXIInd Dynasty he has made only slight changes of detail (amounting to a difference of at most five years) in the classic chronological list of Drioton and Vandier,[23] but I do think it desirable to adopt this new revision. Accordingly the pharaohs of Cerro de San Cristóbal are now as follows: Osorkon II, 874-850; Takelot II, 850-825; and Sheshonq III, 825-773. Thus they were kings with long reigns who succeeded one another over more than a century. By and large therefore, the Egyptian inscriptions of Cerro de San Cristóbal give us a chronology ranging from the first half of the 9th century to the first half of the 8th. And with great probability we can suppose that the *alabastron* of Sheshonq III is not the only one datable to the 8th century. We remember that for some of the alabaster jars parallels have been noted from the XXVth and XXVIth Dynasties, that is, from the second half of the 8th century right through the 7th.[24] Among them were the jars of Tomb 19, which is itself dated to the beginning of the 7th century by two Protocorinthian cotylae. It is thus a delicate task to lay down exact dating limits for the Necropolis. All that we can be relatively sure of at first is that its earliest possible starting date was in the reign of Osorkon II (second quarter of 9th century). But I have already referred to the possibility that its terminal date might have been connected with the momentous events of the year 677 B.C. in the east. Whatever the case, and within these limits, Pellicer dated the Cerro de San Cristóbal Necropolis *en bloc* to the beginning of the 7th century, on the sole evidence of the two little Protocorinthian vessels of Tomb 19, and disregarding the remote date of the Egyptian alabaster jars which this author, let us not forget, regarded as of the 9th century.[25] But we have seen that Tomb 19 offers other evidence of having come very late in the Necropolis as a whole. Moreover it seems impossible that a Necropolis of such importance and character as this should have had such a short life. But it seems equally unacceptable to extend its lifetime throughout the length of the 7th century. For how are we then to explain the complete absence of Greek pottery in the remaining tombs, or of other elements so characteristic of the Phoenician necropolises of this period as the double-spring fibula or the pottery urn? Probably Leclant was the first to put forward the contrary supposition, that some of the Almuñecar tombs might actually be earlier than the 7th century.[26] A little later Cintas, comparing this Necropolis with the Carthaginian one on Juno's Hill, also a cremation necropolis and at Tanit I level, advanced strong arguments in favour of pushing back some of the Almuñecar tombs at least to 750 B.C.,[27] while Ferron from a study of the Punic inscription of Tomb 3 has connected it more with the Carthaginian than the Phoenician world and has dated it at latest to the end of the 8th century.[28] The identification of the cartouche of Sheshonq III gives us a new 8th-century element which obliges us entirely to reject the theory that some 200-year old *alabastra* were simply re-used.[29] In fact, the number of *alabastra* which have come to light in Almuñecar and at other points of Andalusia,[30] together with those recorded at Carthage,[31] forces us to suppose that they kept on arriving in the West in successive consignments which may have been spread out at intervals over many years. In our present state of knowledge it is impossible to say exactly when these despatches to Sexi may have begun, but we must not forget that Cintas sees a direct kinship between the Cerro de San Cristóbal Necropolis and the tombs and earliest known levels of Carthage, as I have already pointed out. Moreover, the possibility that Tomb 19 of the Cerro de San Cristóbal Necropolis may be the latest, whereas others of its tombs may be wholly of 8th-century date, is reinforced by considerations of horizontal stratigraphy. In fact, in Phoenician and Punic necropolises the most ancient tombs are those situated nearest the habitation area, whether city or colony, while the most recent are furthest off. At Cerro de San Cristóbal the tombs by and large are aligned on a north-south axis, while the Sexi trading post was situated in the Castillo de San Miguel of Almuñécar, south-east of the Necropolis. In fact, of the tombs situated more to the south and east, that is theoretically the most ancient, those in which we can be reasonably confident about the contents are Tombs 18, 17, 11, 10, 1, 2, 3, and 16, and these have no oenochoae. Where oenochoae do appear is in tombs situated more to the north and west, Nos. 12, 13, and 20 (Nos. 14 and 15 are exceptional). Finally the Tomb most distant from the Sexi depot is none other than No. 19, situated more to the north and west, and among its furniture were oenochoae, Protocorinthian cotylae, and the *alabastron* most evolved in form of the whole Necropolis, so that this Tomb is undoubtedly the most recent[32] (Pl. CXXX).

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[19] Drioton et Vandier, *L'Égypte*, p. 631. Cf. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 33, 2-3, pp. 403f. and Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 52.

[20] Maluquer, *Zephyrus*, XIV, p. 59. Díaz Esteban, *Sefarad*, XXV, 2, p. 284. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, pp. 192, 194f. Maluquer, *Tartessos*, p. 74. Cintas, *Manuel*, I, p. 436. Culican, *Levant*, 2, p. 28. Ferron, *TPreh.*, 27, p. 183. Leclant, *Role of the Phoenicians*, p. 13. Schubart, *L Aniversario Lab. Arq.*, p. 201.

[21] Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 324, n. 451.

[22] Padró, *XIII CNA.*, pp. 751 ff.

[23] Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 467.

[24] Culican, *Levant*, 2, p. 28.

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[25] Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 65 f.

[26] Leclant, *Role of the Phoenicians*, p. 13. The same opinion is expressed by Cuadrado, *V SPP*, p. 277.

[27] Cintas, *Manuel*, I, pp. 435 ff. and in particular p. 437.

[28] Ferron, *TPreh.*, 27, pp. 182 f.

[29] Maluquer, *Zephyrus*, XIV, p. 59. Maluquer, *Tartessos*, p. 74. Fletcher, *La Solivella*, p. 55.

[30] Fernández Canivell, Schubart y Niemeyer, *Zephyrus*, XVIII, pp. 63 ff. García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, pp. 11 ff., among other finds.

[31] Cintas, *Manuel*, I, pp. 435 f., Pl. XVIII, 80 and 81.

Finally, I must point out that the Necropolis excavated by Pellicer at Cerro de San Cristóbal cannot be the only one at Sexi. In the Castillo de San Miguel at Almuñécar, the supposed site of Sexi, Pellicer and Schüle in 1960 discovered material datable from the 6th century on, even Arab material,[33] and the tombs which might correspond to these later phases of the colony have not yet been found. What is more, the 20 tombs of Cerro de San Cristóbal can obviously not be all those corresponding to the 8th or early 7th centuries in the colony of Sexi. It is clear that not all the inhabitants of the city or settlement could have afforded themselves an alabaster urn imported from Egypt for their ashes and that 20 tombs were too few to account for a time-span of what may have been 100 years. Consequently we must suppose that there was some other necropolis corresponding to the same period as that excavated, though probably with more modest grave-goods, appropriate to the economically less privileged sections of the population.[34]

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[32] For the position of the tombs in the Necropolis see Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 10, fig. 3. This last argument, referring to the horizontal stratigraphy of the deposit, was developed by Schubart, *L Aniversario Lab. Arq.*, p. 201.

[33] Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 5.

[34] Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p.5, records the finding on 1 November 1962, by the same building workmen, of a burial in a clay cinerary urn at the foot of the Cerro de San Cristóbal, but this is all that is known about it.

From the Necropolis of Cerro de San Cristóbal have been located, so far as is known to the world of archaeology, 3 scarabs,[35] 2 scaraboids, and 18 Egyptian alabaster jars.[36] (Pl. CXXXI).

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[35] Garcia y Bellido, *Sefarad*, II, 2, p. 288 has differed the news mentioned by several authors after him, of the ancient discovery of a silver ring with an engraved scarab from Almuñécar. This news however is wrong as it could be seen consulting the source used by Garcia y Bellido: Rodríguez de Berlanga, *El nuevo bronce*, p. 335, Pl. IIII, No. 4.

[36] Leclant, *Orientalia*, 43, 2, pp. 226 f., has just published a report of the existence of another stone jar from Almuñécar, according to information given him by Señor Antonio Ruiz Fernández.

W. Culican, *Almuñécar, Assur and Phoenician penetration of the Western Mediterranean*, in *Levant*, 2, London, 1970, pp. 28 ff.

Jean Ferron, *La inscripción cartaginesa pintada en la urna cineraria de Almuñécar*, in *Trabajos de Prehistoria*, 27, Madrid, 1970, pp. 177 ff.

A. García y Bellido, *Algunas novedades sobre la Arqueología Púnico-tartessia*, in *Archivo Español de Arqueología*, 43, Nos. 121 and 122, Madrid, 1970, pp. 3 ff.

Antonio García y Bellido-Hermanfrid Schubart-Hans Georg Niemeyer, *Espagne*, in *L'espansione fenicia nel Mediterraneo. Relazioni del Colloquio in Roma, 4-5 Maggio 1970*, Roma, 1971, pp. 145 ff.

Ingrid Gamer-Wallert, *La inscripción del vaso de alabastro de la tumba núm. 1, de Almuñécar (Granada)*, in *XII Congreso Nacional de Arqueología. Jaén, 1971*, Zaragoza, 1973, pp. 401 ff.

K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, Modern Egyptology, Warminster, 1973.

Jean Leclant, *Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1972-1973*, in *Orientalia*, 43, 2, Roma, 1974, pp. 171 ff.

Josep Padró i Parcerisa, *Precisiones sobre la identificación del cartucho de un rey Sheshonq en Almuñécar*, en *XIII Congreso Nacional de Arqueología. Huelva, 1973*, Zaragoza, 1975, pp. 751 ff.

H. Schubart, *Las excavaciones de Torre del Mar y el panorama arqueológico de las fundaciones de colonias fenicias en la costa mediterránea de la Península Ibérica*, in *L'Aniversario de la Fundación del Laboratorio de Arqueología, 1924-1974*, Papeles del Laboratorio de Arqueología de Valencia, 11, Valencia, 1975, pp. 199 ff.

Almuñécar, No. 24.01 Scarab (Pl. LXXXVII)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition spoiled by fire; the scarab is set in a silver mount forming part of a ring of the same metal.

Measurements: length with mount 1.5 cm., breadth with mount 1 cm., height with mount 0.6 cm., diameter of ring 3.7 cm.

Place of Keeping: Granada Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 8310).

Circumstances of Discovery: Came to light in Tomb 3 (Pls LXXXV-LXXXVI), which was located by building workmen excavating a foundation in February-March 1963. The Tomb was excavated in the presence of Don Francisco Prieto Junior, and its contents were collected by Doña Laura de Prieto Moreno. The Tomb was seen when already excavated by Professor Pellicer at the beginning of April. It was a well of trapezoidal ground plan with the principal base oriented towards the north-east and axes of 2 x 1.40 m. Its average depth was 4.20 m. It had a niche facing north 0.50 m. in horizontal depth by 0.80 m. wide by 0.70 m. high, closed with a big block of schist 1 m. high. The cinerary urn inside it was an alabaster jar, No. 24.09. At the bottom of the well on the south-western side a kind of box formed of three big blocks of schist contained a second cremation burial in an alabaster jar, No. 24.10. Inside this jar together with the ashes was the silver ring with the scarab on a swivel and a serpentine bead. Thus the furniture, so far as it has been possible to reconstruct it in accordance with the articles handed over by Doña Laura de Prieto Moreno and the records of Don Francisco Prieto Junior, consisted of the following pieces:

An alabaster jar, my No. 24.09, of ogival form with a short gullet slightly projecting, 51 cm. high by 12.5 cm. in diameter at the mouth. On its upper surface is a Punic inscription painted in black, much defaced, which has been restored and translated by Jean Ferron as follows: "Burnt remains of Magon, son of *Ḥ(l)ṣ*".[37] In the middle part a hole made at the time of the jar's manufacture was stopped in early times with a rough piece of alabaster and tin rivets.

A second alabaster vessel, No. 24.10, of oval form, with vestigial foot, flat bottom, wide mouth, rim slightly projecting, squared vertical handles with four deep longitudinal grooves and one of the handles broken: height 35.1 cm., diameter of mouth 19.5 cm.

A cylindrical serpentine bead 2.2 cm. long by 1 cm. in diameter.

The ring with the scarab.

Bibliography: Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 18, 52, 62, fig. 9, 5, Pl. XIX, 1. Pellicer, *MMitt.*, 4, pp. 12, 23, 35, fig. 8, 4, Pl. 8, b. Fernández-Chicarro, *VIII CNA*, p. 106, Pl. 17. Diaz Esteban, *Sefarad*, XXV, 2, p. 284. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, p. 195, Pl. 44A.

Date: We have already seen how Pellicer dated the Almuñecar Necropolis by the two Protocorinthian cotylae of Tomb 19 to the first half of the 7th century,[38] and how this was at first accepted by all Spanish archaeologists. The first move to lift this dating at least for a part of the burials was due to Leclant and Cuadrado.[39] Later Cintas advanced new arguments in the same sense.[40] And then Ferron was able to date Tomb 3 with its furniture "at latest to the end of the 8th century", by a palaeographic study of the inscriptions on the urns.[41] Nothing more specific can be said about the date of the scarab itself owing to its condition.

Description: The scarab is completely disfigured by the cremation and neither its dorsal scheme nor the inscription on its reverse are discernible. It is set in a silver mount which formed part of a ring of the same metal, circular in section and thicker at the centre than at the extremes. At present the scarab with mount is separated from the ring.

Parallels: Pellicer maintains that scarabs mounted in swivel-rings are typically Punic,[42] but the type in fact is well known in Egypt.

Conclusion: Egyptian scarab without any doubt.

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[37] Ferron, *TPreh.*, 27, p. 180.

[38] Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 65.

[39] Leclant, *Role of the Phoenicians*, p. 13. Cuadrado, *V SIPP*, p. 277.

[40] Cintas, *Manuel*, I, pp. 436 f.

[41] Ferron, *TPreh.*, 27, p. 182.

[42] Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 62.

Almuñécar, No. 24.02 Scarab

Material and Colour: Unknown. The scarab was set in gold.

Measurements: Unknown.

Place of Keeping: Disappeared before the arrival of Professor Pellicer in Almuñécar.

Circumstances of Discovery: Came to light in one of the tombs excavated without control by the building workmen in February-March 1963. These tombs were subsequently numbered by Pellicer 4 to 11 but almost nothing is known about them.[43]

Bibliography: Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 6.

Date: Nothing precise can be said about the dating of this piece. Like that of the majority of the tombs it must be 8th-century.

Description: According to the testimony of the workmen examined by Pellicer, we only know that it was a scarab set in gold.

Parallels: I have already noted in general that scarabs mounted in gold or silver are very abundant both in Egypt and in Phoenician deposits, and evidently they are represented also in the Iberian Peninsula. We need only recall the two pieces from Cerro de San Cristóbal itself, Nos. 24.01 and 24.03, both set in gold.

Conclusion: Scarab manufactured in Egypt.

Almuñécar, No. 24.03 Scarab (Pl. LXXXI)

Material and Colour: Dark chestnut glazed composition; mounted in gold.

Measurements: length with mount 2 cm., breadth with mount 1.2 cm., height with mount 0.6 cm.

Place of Keeping: Granada Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 8311).

Circumstances of Discovery: Found among the ashes inside the cinerary urn of Tomb 16 (Pls. CVIII-CIX), No. 24.19 of this catalogue. This Tomb was located and excavated by Pellicer in the course of his first campaign in April 1963. The Tomb had an oval ground-plan, its greatest diameter from north to south measuring 1.60 m., its depth at the centre 3.30 m. At the bottom in the middle was the cinerary urn, an alabaster jar encased with big blocks of schist, over which rested a dish. The furniture was as follows:

An alabaster jar as cinerary urn, my No. 24.19, ovate, with gullet with projecting rim, two vertical handles of circular section one of which had already been lost in antiquity. A horizontal line of hieroglyphs, very badly engraved, runs round the jar on a level with the upper part of the handles; below this line among inverted lotus flowers is a cartouche with the *nomen* of Sheshonq III, above the gold sign and crowned with the sun-disk and two feathers, all rather poorly engraved. The height of the urn is 47.5 cm. As I have said, it contained human ashes and the scarab.

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[43] Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 6.

A broken dish, wheel-made, with the rim slightly turned over, and the bottom slightly concave, of reddish friable composition, with a diameter of 25.2 cm., and a *graffito* on the outer surface, in Punic characters, that Díaz Esteban has interpreted as *Bodo* or as *Barik* (proper names) or else as an abbreviation of the title "chief of priests".[44]

Bibliography: Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 24, 52, 62, fig. 24, 3, Pl. XIX, 2. Pellicer, *MMitt*, 4, pp. 12, 23, 35, fig. 15, Pl. 8, a. Díaz Esteban, *Sefarad*, XXV, 2, p. 286. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, pp. 194 f., Pl. 86 A.

Date: Tomb 16 must have an 8th-century date, which must also be that of the scarab.

Description: Scarab mounted in gold and very damaged by fire. The gold setting is now broken on the end corresponding to the clypeus. Type II dorsal scheme with prothorax indicated. Longitudinal perforation for suspension exposed by crack in the clypeus and in the base, on the opposite end of the scarab. On the reverse, very degraded, there appears a rosette which originally covered the whole field.

Parallels: On scarabs mounted in gold or silver cf. No. 23.02. Scarabs with motifs based on rosettes are well known in Egypt, dating between the Middle Kingdom and the Saite Period.[45] Some similar pieces come from Carthage.[46]

Conclusion: Scarab of Egyptian manufacture.

Almuñécar, No. 24.04 Scaraboid

Material and Colour: Gypsum composition.

Measurements: Unknown.

Place of Keeping: Unknown.

Circumstances of Discovery: Possibly came to light in the Tomb excavated by Dr. Pita, that is to say, No. 2.[47] On this Tomb cf. below, No. 24.08.

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[44] Díaz Esteban, *Sefarad*, XXV, 2, pp. 286 ff. The description of the furniture has been taken from Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 24. For the reading of the cartouche on the alabaster jar see Padró, *XIII CNA*, pp. 751 ff.

[45] Newberry, *CGC. Scarab-shaped seals*, Pl. XIII, lines 4 and 5; Petrie, *Buttons*, pp. 15 f., Pl. VIII *in fine*; Gardner, *Naukratis II*, Pl. XVIII, 3.

[46] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, N° 320, p. 173.

[47] Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 63, n. 156.

Bibliography: Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 63. Pellicer, *MMitt.*, 4, p. 36.

Date: Tomb 2 must be 8th-century. If the scaraboid really came to light there it must have the same date.

Description: According to Pellicer, this scaraboid is a hemispherical scaraboid in the shape of a rosette.[48]

Parallels: Pellicer says that this scaraboid has parallels in those of Rabs and Douimes, studied by Gauckler and Delattre.[49]

Conclusion: —.

Almuñécar, No. 24.05 Scaraboid (Pl. LXXXI)

Material and Colour: Green glazed composition.

Measurements: length 1.35 cm., breadth 0.9 cm., height 0.45 cm.

Place of Keeping: Granada Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 8318).

Circumstances of Discovery: Came to light in Tomb 20 (Pls CXXVI-CXXVII), inside an alabaster jar as cinerary urn. The Tomb was located and excavated in Professor Pellicer's second campaign, in July 1963. The Tomb had a semicircular ground-plan with a major axis of 1.50 m. in an east-west direction. The well was irregular with a depth of 4 m. At the bottom was a deep niche extending to 1.50 m. and 1 m. high, and containing an alabaster jar covered by a stone. The niche was strongly protected by big blocks of schist. The jar contained human ashes, a copper ring, and the scarab. At the back of the well were found fragments of wheel-made and hand-thrown pottery, of rough composition, with cut edges blackish and surface bright chestnut, and an abundance of schist grits. Close to the urn was one piriform oenochoe and another with mushroom mouth. Thus the Tomb furniture was as follows:

An alabaster (cinerary) jar, 57 cm. high, ovoid, with a small neck and vertical handles of circular section, one of them lost in antiquity. At the rim it has a semicircular polished recess. On the upper part of the body are engraved two cartouches of Osorkon II, not very well executed. It is No. 24.23 of this catalogue.

A piriform oenochoe with three-lobed mouth, 21 cm. high, with truncated cone shoulders and split handle, of reddish cream composition and red slip with the bottom and the lower part of the rim in resist; remnants of vertical spatula work.

An oenochoe with mushroom mouth, 21 cm. high, of reddish cream composition and deep red slip with the bottom and the lower part of rim in resist; vertical spatula work; a ring set in the neck. The fragments were close to the cinerary jar.

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[48] Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 63, n. 156.

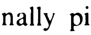
[49] Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 63, n. 156.

A copper ring, of circular section, 0.5 cm. thick and 24 cm. in diameter.

The scaraboid.[50]

Bibliography: Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 38 ff., 52, 62, fig. 34, 4, Pl. XVIII, 1. Pellicer, *MMitt.*, 4, pp. 12, 23, 35, fig. 21, 4, Pl. 8, c. Fernández-Chicarro, *VIII CNA*, p. 106, Pl. 17. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, p. 195, Pl. 86 A.

Date: From its position in the Necropolis, Tomb 20 must be dated either to the end of the 8th or beginning of the 7th century, and the same for the scaraboid.

Description: Scaraboid of the type called "rectangular pastille", with the back smooth and an inscription engraved on the reverse, surrounded by a line: longitudinally pierced. The inscription is: . Very probably this must be read: "Khonsu, lord of the Double Land". The inversion of the signs *nb tꜣwy* is probably for practical reasons, since the sign *nb* lends itself much more to being written in the bottom part of scarabs and scaraboids.[51] However, we cannot for this final group of signs altogether dismiss the reading [*nsw*]*t*-[*bi*]*t nb* [*tꜣwy*], "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Double Land", in view of the frequent association of these two titles;[52] in which case the reed and the bee signs would have to be understood, as also the double sign *tꜣwy*.

Parallels: The rectangular pastilles are a type of scaraboids known in Egypt and well documented at Carthage.[53] On the other hand, I know of no exact parallel for the inscription, although scarabs and scaraboids inscribed with the name of the god Khonsu are fairly numerous, both in Egypt itself[54] and in Carthage.[55]

Conclusion: Egyptian scaraboid. Typologically the rectangular pastilles are considered as the final outcome of the evolution of the cowroids, and the nearest to the scarabs properly so called.[56]

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[50] Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 38 ff., for the description of the furniture.

[51] The inversion of the signs *nb tꜣwy* is documented in some Egyptian inscriptions: Petrie, *Scarabs*, Pl. XXVII, 51, and Pl. LVI, 26.5,4.

[52] Cf. Petrie, *Scarabs*, Pl. LVII, 30.2. Erman und Grapow, *Wb.*, II, p. 330.

[53] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 92 and 176 ff., with numerous examples from Carthaginian necropolises.

[54] Newberry, *CGC.*, *Scarab-shaped seals*, Pl. X, Nos. 36609, 36623, 36626, 36879 and 36914, pp. 153, 157, 221 and 229.

[55] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, No. 211, p. 145; No. 212, p. 146; Nos 385-387 (rectangular pastilles), p. 180; No. 854 (amulet), p. 299.

[56] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 92 and 176.

Almuñécar, No. 24.06 Vessel (Pls LXXVIII-LXXX)

Material and Colour: White alabaster, the bottom stained with ochre.

Measurements: height 67.5 cm., diameter of mouth 15.5 cm.

Place of Keeping: Granada Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 8319).

Circumstances of Discovery: Formed part of the furniture of Tomb 1 (Pls LXXVI-LXXVII), which was found in the course of building operations. The Tomb was excavated in the presence of Don Francisco Prieto Junior, who furnished Pellicer with the data for its archaeological reconstruction. Pellicer himself was still able to see the Tomb after its excavation. The contents were collected by Doña Laura de Prieto Moreno. Tomb 1 is situated about halfway along the row of tombs of Side E. It consists of a well of roughly circular ground-plan 1.50 m. in diameter and an average depth of 5 m. It was a double burial, one in a niche facing north 1 m. high by 0.90 m. wide by 1.10 m. in horizontal depth, supported by a big stone slab 1.15 m. high by 1.20 m. wide which closed it, and containing the present alabaster jar. On the west side at the bottom of the well there was another burial in an alabaster cinerary jar protected by big irregularly placed blocks of schist. The well of the tomb was refilled with blocks of schist in a clay medium. The furniture, as handed over by the Señores Prieto Moreno comprises the present vessel which contained the ashes of an adult individual and the handle of a copper "brazier", the bottom of the jar being stained with ochre; and another alabaster jar, No. 24.07, inside which were the ashes of a child and a tin stud(?).[57]

Bibliography: Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 11 and 16, figs. 4 and 5-1-2, Pl. VI-3, VII-4 and XI. Pellicer, *MMitt.*, 4, pp. 12 and 23, fig. 6-1-2, Pl. 10 and 11 a. Maluquer, *Zephyrus*, XIV, p. 59. Fernández-Chicarro, *VIII CNA*, p. 106, Pl. 14. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 33, 2-3, pp. 403 f. Díaz Esteban, *Sefarad*, XXV, 2, p. 284. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, pp. 192 f., figs. 49 and 50, Pl. 76 B and 77 A. Leclant, *Role of the Phoenicians*, p. 13. Cintas, *Manuel*, I, p. 436. Maluquer, *Tartessos*, pp. 74 f. Culican, *Levant*, 2, p. 28. Ferron, *TPreh.*, 27, p. 183. García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, p. 23, fig. 8 (p. 16). García y Bellido, Schubart, Niemeyer, *L'espansione fenicia*, p. 146, fig. 21. Gamer-Wallert, *XII CNA*, pp. 401 ff. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 324, n. 451. Padró, *XIII CNA*, pp. 751 ff. Schubart, *L Aniversario Lab. Arq.*, p. 201.

Date: The alabaster jar bears the cartouches of Takelot II and its manufacture must have been in this Pharaoh's reign, between the years 850 and 825. Tomb 1, however, from its position in the Necropolis, must have a date within the 8th century, perhaps in the middle of that century. So we see that in all probability a lifetime of about a hundred years above ground must be assumed for this alabaster jar from the date of its manufacture till it became a cinerary urn and was buried in Cerro de San Cristóbal.

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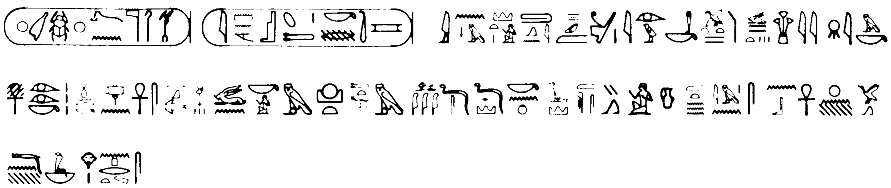
[57] The description of the tomb and its furniture has been taken from Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 11 and 16.

Description: A big alabaster jar, the biggest so far known from the Iberian Peninsula, of elongated ovoid form, with a small projecting gullet and two small vertical handles of circular section. In accordance with Culican's classification[58] the jar belongs to the group "of wide elongated bag shape" but which I prefer to call of "elongated oval shape", the characteristic of which is that the cross-section of the body has a greater diameter in the lower part than in the upper.[59] On a level with the handles the jar has a hieroglyphic inscription very well engraved and going all round it, 2 cm in width and 90 cm in total length, surmounted by the two cartouches of Takelot II. These are equidistant from the two handles of the vase and in vertical position, crowned by the double *maât* feather and the sun-disk. Below each cartouche is an arc and the gold sign. The left-hand cartouche contains the *praenomen* and the right-hand the *nomen* of Takelot II, accompanied by certain epithets, and they must be read in that order as the arrangements of the signs indicates. The inscription on the contrary must be read from right to left, and therefore begins from the left-hand cartouche. It is twice interrupted, each time it reaches the handles, and ends at the right-hand cartouche.



The inscription may be translated as follows:[60]

"(Hedjkheperre Setepenre (a), god and governor of Thebes (b)), (Takelot Meryamun Siese (c)). I have come from my foreign country after having travelled through (many) countries. I have been told about thy being, Primordial God of the Double Land who hast created all that existeth (d). Thine two eyes (e) shine thanks to thee. Thy word (f) is the breath of life that maketh throats breathe. Now I am in the horizon filled with the happiness of the oases of el-Bahriya and el-Kharga (g) as a companion (h). In me there is a fountain of health and life and Mehen(yt) (i) lighteth upon its marge."

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[58] Culican, *Levant*, 2, p. 29.

[59] The alabaster jars of Almuñécar have been typologically classified by García y Bellido, *AEArq*., 43, 121-122, p. 16, fig. 8, who does not however give a name to each one of the types he recognizes, cf. also García y Bellido, Schubart, Niemeyer, *L'espansione fenicia*, fig. 21. The jars of "elongated oval shape" are those which occupy the second rank in García y Bellido's array.

[60] I should here like to thank Professor François Daumas, who was good enough to revise my translation of this text and give me useful guidance on it.

(a) *Praenomen* of Takelot II.[61]
(b) These epithets also form part of the first cartouche.
(c) *Nomen* of Takelot II, terminating with the sign *mr*, which recurs with some frequency.[62]
(d) *qmꜣ(w) wnnwt*, respectively perfective active participle and imperfective plural participle. Here the text is interrupted by the handle on the left side of the vessel.
(e) *ʿnḫty.k*. Gamer-Wallert notes that *nb* has been written by mistake for *k*, but this is incorrect because the handle of the basket *k* is clearly visible in the original, though it does point up instead of down.[63]
(f) Or perhaps it should be read *sš r.k*, "thy mouth spreadeth..".[64]
(g) The oases of el-Bahriya and el-Kharga, in Egyptian respectively *Ḏsḏs* and *Knmt*.
(h) Second interruption of the text by the handle on the right of the jar.
(i) Mehen or Mehenyt, according to whether it is a male or female deity, which cannot be determined owing to a gap in the text at this point.

Let me note, to finish with the notes on grammar, that this text is written in Classic Egyptian. Nevertheless, some of the terms used show an extraction of a more advanced period.[65]

This inscription had remained uninterpreted for eight years after its discovery in 1963 owing to the mistakes made in copying it for publication. Finally Gamer-Wallert presented her complete account of it at the XIIth National Archaeological Congress at Jaén in 1971, and it is this to which I refer here.[66] However, the originality of this text which has nothing ritual about it, and the resulting difficulty in understanding its meaning satisfactorily for want of parallels, prompts me here to reopen the question. Taking every point of Gamer-Wallert's account, I offer my own appreciation of its particular obscurities and difficulties.

The first point, then, about this text to command our attention is its being written in the first person. Gamer-Wallert asked herself whether the speaker was Takelot II himself, or an anonymous contemporary, or the actual jar personified.[67] And she herself stated the difficulty about accepting any of these three possibilities. If it is King Takelot II speaking, it is strange that the Pharaoh should recall his foreign origin and lay so much emphasis on it when his forebears had already been settled in Egypt for several centuries. In the second case it is still more strange that the speaker, evidently the owner of the jar, does not put his name on it, the opposite of what we should expect. The third possibility, apparently the most probable, yet runs up against other difficulties equally formidable. To the one put by Gamer-Wallert herself, that a jar should "hear" about "the existence of the primordial god", I can add the objection that this very jar should come from its foreign country, when we know that it was manufactured in Egypt, and more especially that of its finding itself on the horizon in the quality of a companion, a title given to persons or to the dead, never to things. Gamer-Wallert tries to overcome these objections by suggesting that it is not always the same "person" who speaks throughout the inscription.[68] But this seems to me to go right against the evidence. A careful reading of the text is enough to convince us that it is always the same person who speaks, from beginning to end. For all these reasons I think it plausible to offer a fourth hypothesis more capable of explaining all the difficulties. The speaker, as the text says explicitly, is a foreigner, not a particular foreigner however, but simply the purchaser, the destined recipient of the jar with its contents, wine as we shall see. This is the reason why he is not named. So the foreigner who acquires the jar with wine from the oases of el-Bahriya and el-Kharga shall come from his country to Egypt, after travelling through many countries, having been told about the Primordial God of the Double Land, and will instal himself on the horizon, in the character of a companion, filled with joy in the wines he has heard about and with a spring of health and life inside him. In fact, the composer of this text could hardly have done more to extol the quality of the wine which the jar was destined to contain and the wonders it could work. On the other hand, what better evidence could this text give that the jar was manufactured in Egypt with the export trade in view?

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[61] Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 95.

[62] Cf. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 33, 2-3, p. 404.

[63] Gamer-Wallert, *XII CNA*, p. 404, n. 3. For *ʿnḫt*, besides Erman und Grapow, *Wb.*, I, p. 205, cf. Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p. 44: "eye of deity".

[64] Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p. 246, 7.

[65] Such is the case of the verb *ḥꜣy*, "to shine", which, according to Erman und Grapow, *Wb.*, III, p. 14, 9, becomes known only since the XVIIIth Dinasty.

[66] Gamer-Wallert, *XII CNA*, pp. 401 ff.

[67] Gamer-Wallert, *XII CNA*, p. 404.

Another problem of interpretation remains yet in this text. The foreigner who is speaking in first person is addressing himself to somebody in the second person of the masculine singular. This somebody is the Primordial God of the Double Land, the one god creator of all that exists, who is praised through the means of a short hymn uttered by our stranger come to Egypt. In this hymn, with numerous parallels in passages from hymns dating at least since the New Kingdom,[69] the divinity is evoked through a description of his actions, at the same time sustained, constant, creative and providential. Thus, there is a reference to the two eyes of the god — that is, the sun and the moon —, whose rays give life to men, according to the well-known Egyptian conception, and to his word, the divine breath that enables them to breathe, all of which are thoroughly familiar ideas of the Egyptian religious thought.[70] Nevertheless, there is apparently no mention of the name of this Primordial God, which is the more striking considering that in Egypt all gods were primordial, at least in their nome, so in fact it becomes impossible to identify them without more information. Consequently, if his name is not given, we are not able to know the real identity of such an over-praised Primordial God, which would be strange indeed. Nonetheless, we believe that such is not the case, and that the name of the Primordial God does appear in the inscription, and precisely in the heading inside each cartouche. The truth is that there is no reason why the Primordial God refered to in the text should not be the pharaoh himself, Takelot II, neither from the point of view of grammar — the suffixed pronouns in the second person of the singular masculine would refer to an explicit antecedent —, nor from the point of view of religion and theology — the conceptions that make the pharaoh identical to the divinity are well known —. But there is more to it than that, since there is an illustrious parallel passage in a text from the Middle Kingdom, a letter from Sinuhe to the pharaoh Sesostris I in which the latter is described in similar terms as god creator and providential.[71] Considering this precedent, we find it plausible that the Primordial God of the Double Land refered to in our text, whom the anonymous foreigner has heard about and has come to meet in Egypt, is none other than the king of Egypt himself, Takelot II.

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[68] Gamer-Wallert, *XII CNA*, p. 407.

[69] Gamer-Wallert, *XII CNA*, p. 404.

Having pronounced the hymn of praise in honour of the Primordial God, the speaker goes on to describe his present situation after having travelled through several countries from his foreign land. Now he has reached the far horizon, filled with the joy of the oases el-Bahriya and el-Kharga, in the character of a companion. Gamer-Wallert in her work explains that by "horizon" we must understand the region daily illuminated by the sun at its rising, and therefore the goal of the sun and his companions — the "justified" dead at the end of their nocturnal journey.[72] The word "horizon" indeed has become in many cases a synonym for "tomb", as is evidently the case here, since the word "companion" is synonymous in its turn with "dead person forming part of the retinue of the sun god".[73] However, Gamer-Wallert doubts whether the speaker is really dead and her doubts seem to me justified. Indeed a careful reading of the text allows us to envisage the possibility that the speaker is not dead but in the state of blessedness of the dead induced by the inebriating joy of the oases of El-Bahriya and El-Kharga. Here Gamer-Wallert points out that in ancient Egypt the state of drunkenness corresponded to the state of the blessed in the other world.[74] There can be no doubt that the expression "joy of the oases of El-Bahriya and El-Kharga" is an allusion to the wine from these two places, which were among the principal wineproducing regions of Egypt.[75] Wine played an important part in funeral offerings and in other inscriptions on alabaster jars, contemporary with that we are considering, there are allusions to the necessity of wine so that the dead person may become intoxicated.[76]

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[70] Gamer-Wallert, *XII CNA*, pp. 404 f., who quotes numerous parallels for this passage.

[71] *Sinuhe*, B, 232-234.

[72] Gamer-Wallert, *XII CNA*, pp. 405 f.

[73] Gamer-Wallert, *XII CNA*, p. 406.

In the final paragraph of the text there is a reference to the fountain of health and life that exists now in the speaker once he is in the horizon. This passage would be the main argument for identifying the speaker with the jar itself.[77] As far as we are concerned, we prefer to see it as a parallel with the familiar Biblical theme of the internal fountain which gives health and life through communion with God.[78] In the Egyptian case, this communion takes place through a state of ebriety. The *Uraeus* — Mehen or Mehenyt — has lighted upon the marge of this fountain, probably with the task of protecting its content, the same way that it protects the pharaoh perched on his forehead.

Gamer-Wallert concludes her work with the opinion that this jar was part of the funeral furniture of Takelot II himself, and that it would have been robbed from it.[79] Personally, I think that it is an item destined for trade — or a diplomatic present — from the period of Takelot II.[79a] If my hypothesis in interpreting the inscription is right, the text itself would back my opinion demonstrating that the jar was originally meant for exportation.

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[74] Gamer-Wallert, *XII CNA*, pp. 406f.

[75] Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten*, p. 166, corresponding to Chapter X, *The Inscriptions*, a chapter written by H. W. Fairman. In it, in discussing the *Sources of the Wine*, he mentions the two oases. Cf. also Brugsch, *Reise*, pp. 90-93, and *Urk.*, VIII, 14, 16, on the wine-producing localities, and Daumas, *Mam. Dendara*, pp. 24, 8-9; 25, 1; 192, 15-16, as well as Daumas, *Les mammisis des Temples*, p. 212.

[76] Gamer-Wallert, *XII CNA*, p. 406.

[77] Gamer-Wallert, *XII CNA*, p. 407.

[78] *Ev. Jo.*, 4, 6-14, for example.

[79] Gamer-Wallert, *XII CNA*, p. 408.

[79a] I do not think that Egypt exported alabaster jars, but quality wines in luxurious vessels that enhanced the class of the stored good, just as we do nowadays with certain brands of liquors: Padró, *XIII CNA*, pp. 756f.

Parallels: The vessels of oval or elongated oval shape are specifically Egyptian, and in pottery they are well known in Egypt.[80] In alabaster too elongated oval jars are well documented, although generally smaller in size, like an example from Abu Sir measuring 17.6 cm. and datable probably to the Late Period,[81] or another, probably late, example from Abydos, measuring 13.4 cm.[82] From Memphis too one or two alabaster jars of elongated oval shape can be cited.[83] Two vessels of this shape were found at Assur, in the palace of Assurnasirpal II.[84] In the West the nearest parallels are to be found in the Cerro de San Cristóbal Necropolis itself. These are the jars from Tombs 14, 15A, and 20, my Nos. 24.16, 24.17, and 24.23 respectively, all of similar size to that of Tomb 1, though slightly smaller.[85] Another similar jar comes from the Hill of Juno at Carthage.[86] But the size of the Tomb 1 jar is indeed quite exceptional and I know of nothing larger of this shape. The parallels, partial as they are, to the text engraved on this jar have already been mentioned in my study of it under the heading *Description*.

Conclusion: Vessel manufactured in Egypt in the reign of Takelot II. If my interpretation of the hieroglyphic text inscribed on it is correct, the jar would have been originally destined for export.

Almuñécar, No. 24.07 Vessel (Pl. LXXXI)

Material and Colour: White Alabaster.

Measurements: height 41.5 cm., diameter of mouth 7.5 cm.

Place of Keeping: Granada Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 8320).

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 1, which I have already described with its furniture in connection with the jar No. 24.06. Inside the present jar were the ashes of a child and a tin stud (?). The jar stood at the bottom west of the Tomb, protected by big blocks of schist irregularly placed. (Pls. LXXVI-LXXVII).

Bibliography: Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 11 and 16, figs. 4 and 5-3, Pl. XIII-4. Pellicer, *MMitt.*, 4, p. 12, fig. 6-3. Maluquer, *Zephyrus*, XIV, Pl. III. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, p. 192, fig. 50. Garcia y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 8, p. 16. Garcia y Bellido, Schubart, Niemeyer, *L'espansione fenicia*, fig. 21.

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[80] Petrie, *Nebesheh*, p. 64, Pl. XXXIII, 3 and XXXIV, 28: vessels from Defenneh.

[81] Bissing, *CGC. Steingefässe*, p. 56, No. 18326.

[82] Bissing, *CGC. Steingefässe*, p. 56, No. 18325.

[83] Petrie, *Memphis II*, Pl. XVI, p. 12.

[84] Culican, *Levant*, 2, p. 29.

[85] See the chart by García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 8 (p. 16): vessels of the second row.

[86] Cintas, *Manuel*, I, Pl. XVIII, 81. García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 13 (p. 19).

Date: This jar, like No. 24.06, came to light in Tomb 1 (Pls LXXVI-LXXVII), which from its position inside the Necropolis must have a date within the 8th century, perhaps the middle, as I have already indicated in connection with the previous jar which bears the cartouches of Takelot II (850-825). It would none the less be hazardous to attempt a precise dating for the manufacture of this and other uninscribed alabaster jars of Cerro de San Cristóbal. All we can say is that the inscriptions from the Necropolis give us the names of three Pharaohs, Osorkon II, Takelot II, and Sheshonq III, who reigned in succession during the years 874-773, and so it is very probable that the immense majority of the alabaster jars of Cerro de San Cristóbal were manufactured in the same period.

Description: Alabaster jar of elongated oval shape, very narrow, with a small projecting gullet and two small vertical handles of circular section. Culican classified vessels of this type as of "narrow bag type",[87] but I prefer the classical name used by Pellicer himself in this case, *alabastron*.[88] These vessels have characteristics similar to those of "elongated oval shape" but are much narrower.[89]

Parallels: Vessels of *alabastron* shape seem to be no more than an evolution or stylization of those of elongated oval shape, and in fact there are pieces of small size in the Cairo Museum such that it would be difficult to decide which of the two categories they belonged to.[90] Alabaster jars of *alabastron* type have been found at Memphis, where they were in all probability manufactured.[91] Jars of this type have been found at Tell el-Yahudiya in Egypt and at Assur in the Palace of Assurnasirpal II.[92] From the Western Mediterranean I can mention the example from Tomb 19 Niche A of Cerro de San Cristóbal, No. 24.21 of my catalogue. From Tomb No. 9 at La Joya also a jar of *alabastron* form 23 cm. in height has been recovered,[93] as also from Chamber 2 of Trayamar, No. 26.01, from the Jardín Necropolis, No. 27.02, and from La Cruz del Negro, now on deposit in the Bonsor Collection at Mairena del Alcor.[94]

Conclusion: Vessel of Egyptian manufacture.

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[87] Culican, *Levant*, 2, pp. 28 f.

[88] Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 16.

[89] García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, p. 16, fig. 8. García y Bellido, Schubart, Niemeyer, *L'espansione fenicia*, fig. 21. The jars of "*alabastron* form" are those at the end of the third row in García y Bellido's chart.

[90] Bissing, *CGC.*, *Steingefässe*, p. 56, No. 18325 and 18326; they are the two small vessels already mentioned in connection with No. 24.06 of Cerro de San Cristóbal.

[91] Petrie, *Memphis II*, Pl. XVI, p. 12.

[92] Culican, *Levant*, 2, pp. 28 f.

[93] Garrido, "*La Joya*", p. 46, fig. 35 (p. 49). García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 12 (p. 19).

[94] Fernández Canivell, Schubart y Niemeyer, *Zephyrus*, XVIII, Pl. VII.

Almuñécar, No. 24.08 Vessel (Pl. LXXXIV)

Material and Colour: White Alabaster.

Measurements: height 40 cm.

Place of Keeping: Granada Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 8321).

Circumstances of Discovery: Formed part of the furniture of Tomb 2 (Pls LXXXII-LXXXIII), which like Tomb 1 was found in the course of building operations. It seems to have been this tomb the excavation of which was completed by Dr. José Manuel Pita Andrade, Regional Delegate of Excavations for Granada.[95] Pellicer saw the Tomb after it had been excavated. The well of this Tomb is of trapezoidal ground-plan with axes 2.50 by 1.90 m. Its average depth is 4.50 m. It has a niche facing north-west 1.25 high by 0.70 m. wide by 0.70 m. in horizontal depth, closed by a big block of schist 1.40 m. high. The niche contained as cinerary urn the present jar, inside which were the ashes of one individual and fragments of a bronze arm-band of circular section. At the bottom of the well were big blocks of schist and among them, on the west side, there came to light, it seems, a wheel-made dish of reddish composition the internal surface of which had a polished red slip, broken into many pieces, and a double lamp, also wheel-made, of reddish composition, friable, with a polished red slip, on a longitudinal axis of 12 cm. and a transverse axis of 13.5 cm.[96] The scaraboid No. 24.04 was also perhaps found in this Tomb.[97]

Bibliography: Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 16, figs. 6 and 7-1, Pl. XIII-1. Pellicer, *MMitt.*, 4, p. 12, fig. 7-1. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, p. 192, fig. 50, Pl. 77 B. García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 8 (p. 16). García y Bellido, Schubart, Niemeyer, *L'espansione fenicia*, fig. 21.

Date: Tomb 2 must be dated by its position in the Necropolis to the middle of the 8th century. The jar's date of manufacture can be satisfactorily assigned to the 9th-8th centuries, like the inscribed jars; cf. my remarks on No. 24.07.

Description: Alabaster jar of ovoid shape, with small projecting gullet and two vertical handles of circular section. This vessel belongs to a type which we may call "of oval shape", characterized by being much shorter than those "of elongated oval shape", although the sectional diameter of the body of the jar is much the same as these.[98]

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[95] Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 6 and 16.

[96] Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 16.

[97] Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 63, n. 156.

[98] García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, p. 16, fig. 8. García y Bellido, Schubart, Niemeyer,

Parallels: Alabaster jars of oval shape are very abundant in Egypt.[99] Some have been found at Memphis[100] and in the Royal Necropolis at Tanis, one specifically in Tomb III, belonging to Psusennes, together with the burial of a Sheshonq.[101] From the Peninsula we may mention the jars from Tomb 13 of Cerro de San Cristóbal, my No. 24.15, and especially that from Niche B of Tomb 19, my No. 24.22, almost identical with the present, although of slightly larger size, and also No. 26.03, probably found in Chamber 3 at Trayamar.

Conclusion: Vessel of Egyptian manufacture.

Almuñécar, No. 24.09 Vessel (Pl. LXXXVIII)

Material and Colour: White Alabaster.

Measurements: height 51 cm., diameter of mouth 12.5 cm.

Place of Keeping: Granada Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 8322).

Circumstances of Discovery: Came to light in Tomb 3 (Pls LXXXV-LXXXVI), which has already been described, with its furniture, in connection with scarab No. 24.01. Inside this jar was a cremation.

Bibliography: Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 16 and 18, figs. 8 and 9-1-2, Pl. XIV-1. Pellicer, *MMitt.*, 4, pp. 12 and 23, figs. 5-3 and 8-1-2, Pl. 14. Díaz Esteban , *Sefarad*, XXV, 2, pp. 284ff. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, p. 192, fig. 50, Pl. 78A. Culican, *Levant*, 2, pp. 28f. Ferron, *TPreh.*, 27, pp. 177ff., fig. 1 (p. 181), Pl. I-III. García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, pp. 14f. and 23, figs. 8 (p. 16) and 11 (p. 17). García y Bellido, Schubart, Niemeyer, *L'espansione fenicia*, fig. 21. Gamer-Wallert, *XII CNA*, p. 401.

Date: By its position in the Necropolis as a whole Tomb 3 must have a date probably in the middle of the 8th century or a few years later. This would agree with the opinion of Ferron, who as we have seen in connection with Scarab No. 24.01 dates the Punic inscription of the present alabaster jar to "the end of the 8th century at latest".[102] The jar itself must probably have been manufactured in the 9th or 8th centuries like those Cerro de San Cristóbal jars which have hieroglyphic inscriptions; cf. my remarks on No. 24.07.

Description: Alabaster jar of ogival form with a small slightly projecting gullet and without handles. A hole made in its middle at the time of

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L'espansione fenicia, fig. 21. The jars "of oval form" are those at the beginning of the third row in García y Bellido's chart. The Tomb 2 jar has been drawn there twice over by mistake.

[99] Bissing, *CGC.*, *Steingefässe*, p. 55, No. 18322, for instance; it is probably a late jar. The form is also known in pottery: Petrie, *Nebesheh*, p. 64, Pl. XXXIII, 3; a jar from Defenneh.

[100] Petrie, *Memphis II*, Pl. XVI, p. 12.

[101] Montet, *Kêmi*, IX, pp. 86f.: this jar measures 32 cm.

[102] Ferron, *TPreh.*, 27, p. 182.

manufacture must have been repaired in antiquity with a rough piece of coarse alabaster and tin rivets. The jar belongs to the type generally called "torpedo-shaped".[103] García y Bellido prefers "bullet-shaped" or "projectile-shaped",[104] and of these "bullet-shaped" seems to me the best choice. The "bullet-shaped" jars then are characterized, as García y Bellido puts it, by having parallel straight walls in their upper part which terminate smoothly in an ovoid point. The shoulders are almost straight and slightly inclined outwards.[105] On the upper part of the jar an inscription has been painted in black in Phoenicio-Punic characters and partly erased. This might be explained, according to Ferron, by the painting having been damp at the moment of opening the tomb, as has been observed in other tombs situated on Mediterranean shores. In this condition the merest rub would have been enough to damage and disfigure the characters.[106] The inscription was studied first of all by Díaz Esteban[107] and more recently by Ferron, to whose exhaustive work on it I here refer for all questions of detail in the decipherment.[108] Here I simply observe that the inscription is in two lines which Ferron has restored and transliterated as follows:[109]

1. ʿ R Y T
2. M G N B N Ḥ [L] Ṣ

Ferron's translation of these two lines is as follows:

1. Ashes
2. of Magon, son of Ḥ [L] Ṣ

From his palaeographic study Ferron dates the epitaph to the end of the 8th century at latest and concludes: "An interment, the third, containing an urn inscribed in Phoenician, with nothing else about its contents to give a characteristic handle for dating purposes, must go back at least to the end of the 8th century, given that the epitaph must be contemporary with at least one of the two cremations in this hypogeum."[110] From onomastic and formulary considerations Ferron concludes that the origins both of the inscription and the Necropolis must be Carthaginian, not Cypriot or Phoenician. All the same, as I have already emphasized in the introduction to this chapter, it is not certain that either are Carthaginian in the strict sense. It is possible, but it is also possible that they are simply Punic or West Phoenician, and perhaps Gaditan rather than Carthaginian. In any case, what can definitely be ruled out on the ground of the Phoenicio-Punic inscription from Cerro de San Cristóbal is an East Phoenician origin for the population of the colony of Sexi.[111]

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[103] Culican, *Levant*, 2, p. 29.

[104] García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, pp. 13f., n. 18.

[105] García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, p. 16, fig. 8. García y Bellido, Schubart, Niemeyer, *L'espansione fenicia*, fig. 21. In García y Bellido's chart, the "bullet-shaped" jars occupy the first row.

[106] Ferron, *TPreh.*, 27, p. 177.

[107] Díaz Esteban, *Sefarad*, XXV, 2, pp. 284 ff.

[108] Ferron, *TPreh.*, 27, pp. 177 ff.

[109] Ferron, *TPreh.*, 27, p. 180, fig. 1 (p. 181).

Parallels: The bullet-shaped type of alabaster jars is well documented in Egypt. Its pottery forerunners are well known.[112] In alabaster, examples of small[113] and large size have been found. We may single out the jar found in the Royal Necropolis of Tanis, in Chamber III of Tomb I, belonging to Osorkon II. Chamber III was the sepulchre of Takelot II and yet the alabaster jar bore the cartouche of Osorkon I. It was bullet-shaped, with handles, and measured 60 cm. high. Montet, its finder, was the first to point out that this shape had been known in Egypt, in pottery, since the Middle Kingdom.[114] The presence of this jar (and not two of them) of Osorkon I in the burial of Takelot II is what led Gamer-Wallert to believe that the jar in question had been put there as a replacement for one or more which must originally have been in the burial in the name of Takelot II and must have been stolen, one of them to end up in Tomb 1 at Cerro de San Cristóbal.[115] However, I find Montet's suggested explanation of the presence of this jar in the burial of Takelot II much simpler. It was usual to put some ancient objects in a king's tomb.[116] And this possibility becomes evidence in the present case when we recall that Takelot II was deposited in a sarcophagus about a thousand years old, as Gamer-Wallert herself points out.[117] Outside Egypt parallels of bullet-shaped alabaster jars can be quoted from Nubia,[118] and in particular the example found at Assur, derived from the sack of Sidon by Esarhaddon, with a cuneiform inscription and another in hieroglyphs in the name of Prince Takelot, the future Pharaoh Takelot III. This last can therefore be dated before the latter's accession to the throne in 754 B.C.[119] It proves moreover for certain that these jars were not used solely as funeral furniture in Egypt, seeing that it is dedicated to a living person, Prince Takelot, who had not yet reached the summit of his political career by mounting the throne. On the other hand, we see that a vase dedicated to Prince Takelot, the future monarch, and which we may therefore consider *a priori* as his personal property, could none the less be quietly exported to Sidon. From there the Assyrians removed it when they conquered and sacked the city. In the Peninsula I can quote the bullet-shaped jar from Tomb 12 of Cerro de San Cristóbal, my No. 24.14, also without handles, and the jar recovered years ago in all probability at the mouth of the Barbate, and now preserved in the Osborne Collection at Puerto de Santa María (Cadiz), an example with handles and surrounded with a hieroglyphic inscription.[120]

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[110] Ferron, *TPreh.*, 27, p. 182.

[111] Ferron, *TPreh.*, 27, pp. 182ff.

[112] Petrie, *Nebesheh*, p. 64, Pl. XXXIII, 4: bullet-shaped pottery jar from Defenneh.

[113] Bissing, *CGC.*, *Steingefässe*, p. 82, No. 18432: an example from Mit-Rahine datable probably to the New Kingdom; height 9.3 cm.

[114] Montet, *Kêmi*, IX, pp. 12f. Montet, *Tanis*, I, p. 82, Pl. XLVI.

[115] Gamer-Wallert, *XII CNA*, p. 408.

[116] Montet, *Kêmi*, IX, pp. 15f.

[117] Montet, *Tanis*, I, pp. 82ff. Gamer-Wallert, *XII CNA*, p. 408.

[118] Culican, *Levant*, 2, p. 29.

Conclusion: Vessel of Egyptian manufacture: the epitaph it bears is Punic or West Phoenician.

Almuñécar, No. 24.10 Vessel (Pl. LXXXVII)

Material and Colour: White alabaster.

Measurements: height 35.1 cm., diameter of mouth 19.5 cm.

Place of Keeping: Granada Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 8323).

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 3 (Pls LXXXV-LXXXVI), which has already been described with its furniture in connection with the Scarab No. 24.01. Inside this jar, together with the ashes of a cremation, was found a big silver ring with the scarab mounted on it and a serpentine bead.

Bibliography: Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 16 and 18, figs. 8 and 9-3, Pl. XIV, 5. Pellicer, *MMitt.*, 4, p. 12, figs. 5-3 and 8-3. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, p. 194, fig. 50. García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 8 (p. 16). García y Bellido, Schubart, Niemeyer, *L'espansione fenicia*, fig. 21.

Date: I have already indicated, in connection with No. 24.09, that Tomb 3 must be dated from its position to the middle of the 8th century or a little later, and that this agrees with the dating assigned by Ferron to the Punic inscription it bears. The present alabaster jar must probably have been manufactured during the 9th-8th centuries, as is the case with the Cerro de

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[119] This jar can be seen in García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 9 (p. 17).

[120] This jar was first published by Gómez-Moreno, *Adam*, pp. 153 and 162; cf. Culican, *Levant*, 2, fig. 1 (p. 30); the rediscovery and study of the piece is due to García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, pp. 11 ff.; cf. also García y Bellido, Schubart, Niemeyer, *L'espansione fenicia*, pp. 146 f., figs. 20 f., Pl. XXXVI, 1.

San Cristóbal jars with hieroglyphic inscriptions: cf. my remarks on No. 24.07.

Description: Alabaster jar of ovoid form with vestigial foot, bottom flat, mouth wide, rim slightly projecting, vertical flattened handles with four deep longitudinal grooves: one of the handles is in fragments; this vessel is of the type which we may call "flat-based".[121]

Parallels: The flat-based alabaster jars are not very abundant in Egypt in the Late Period. By way of example we may quote that which formed part of the furniture of the tomb of Amenemope and that from the Chamber of Psusennes, both in the Royal Necropolis of Tanis.[122] From the Peninsula the only parallels I can cite are the jars recovered from Niche B of Tomb 15 and that probably found in Tomb 10, my Nos. 24.18 and 24.12 respectively, from the Cerro de San Cristóbal Necropolis.

Conclusion: Vessel of Egyptian manufacture.

Almuñécar, No. 24.11 Vessel

Material and Colour: Alabaster.

Measurements: Unknown.

Place of Keeping: Unknown. According to the statements of the workmen some French tourists carried it off.

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in one of the tombs excavated without control by the building workers in February and March 1963. Pellicer subsequently gave these tombs the numbers 4 to 11 following the indications of the workmen themselves, but almost nothing is known or has been preserved of them.

Bibliography: Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 6.

Date: The Tombs 4-11 by their position must be among the older ones in the Cerro de San Cristóbal Necropolis as a whole, corresponding perhaps to dates in the first half of the 8th century. Nothing of course can be said about the date of manufacture of this vessel. Its chronology may perhaps be assigned, as with the other vessels with hieroglyphic inscription from Cerro de San Cristóbal, to the 9th-8th centuries.

Description: We only know that this was a vessel with hieroglyphic inscription, according to the explanations given to Pellicer by the workmen.

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[121] García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, p. 16, fig. 8. García y Bellido Schubart, Niemeyer, *L'espansione fenicia*, fig. 21. The "flat-based" jars occupy the last row in García y Bellido's chart.

[122] Montet, *Tanis*, II, pp. 93, 165, Pls. LXII, CXXIX.

Parallels: – .

Conclusion: Vessel of Egyptian manufacture without any doubt.

Almuñécar, No. 24.12 Vessel (Pl. XCI)

Material and Colour: White alabaster, the surface spotted with ochre.

Measurements: diameter of mouth 21 cm.

Place of Keeping: Granada Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 8324).

Circumstances of Discovery: Probably this was the cinerary urn of Tomb 10 (Pls LXXXIX-XC), which was located by the workmen preparing the site for a building. Pellicer was still able to see the Tomb, though it had already been excavated. The well of this Tomb was of more or less circular ground-plan, with a diameter of 1.60 m. and a depth at its middle point of 2.30 m. At the south centre of the well bottom the alabaster cinerary jar was embedded in the soil, covered with blocks of schist. In the furniture also were two ostrich eggs in fragments, one of them with a circular cavity and the upper part cut off in the process of making a vessel. Both had similar red paint decoration, consisting of vertical friezes with metopes each containing a sort of cross with hatched interior. In the spaces between the friezes were stylized birds. All this between parallel lines. The height of the most complete egg was 13.2 cm. Both contained ochre.[123]

Bibliography: Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 18, figs. 10 and 13-2, Pl. XIV-4. Pellicer, *MMitt.*, 4, p. 12, fig. 10-2, Pl. 17. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, p. 194, fig. 51, Pl. 78B. Culican, *Levant*, 2, p. 31. García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 8 (p. 16). García y Bellido, Schubart, Niemeyer, *L'espansione fenicia*, fig. 21.

Date: From its position in the Necropolis Tomb 10 must have belonged to the older group of tombs at Cerro de San Cristóbal, with a date in the middle of the 8th century, perhaps a little earlier. The jar itself corresponds to a type known in the XVIIIth Dynasty,[124] but although we cannot exclude the possibility that this is the date of its manufacture it is also possible that it may be 9th-8th-century like the Cerro de San Cristóbal jars with inscription: cf. my remarks on No. 24.07.

Description: Alabaster jar in fragments, in the shape of an amphora with ovoid tendency, with a neck, curving outwards to the rim, and big shoulder handles, vertical, flat, with three deep longitudinal grooves terminated at the bottom by five horizontal grooves. The whole lower part of the jar, which must have been "flat-based", is missing.[125]

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[123] I have taken the description of the Tomb and its furniture from Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 18.

[124] Culican, *Levant*, 2, p. 31.

Parallels: Flat-based alabaster jars of amphora form with big handles are well attested in Egypt during the New Kingdom.[126] But I know of no well-dated parallels from the Late Period. In the West the examples closest to them are the flat-based jars from Tombs 3 B and 15 B in the Cerro de San Cristóbal Necropolis, my Nos. 24.10 and 24.18 respectively.

Conclusion: Vessel manufactured in Egypt.

Almuñécar, No. 24.13 Vessel (Pl. XCIII)

Material and Colour: White alabaster with a red surface stain.

Measurements: height 37.5 cm.

Place of Keeping: Granada Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 8325).

Circumstances of Discovery: This was probably the cinerary urn of Tomb 11 (Pl. XCII), which was located by the workmen preparing the site for a building. Pellicer was still able to see the Tomb when he arrived in Almuñécar in April 1963, though it had already been excavated. The well of the Tomb is of circular ground-plan with a diameter of 1.15 m. and a depth at its middle point of 2.70 m. At the bottom on the north side was the alabaster cinerary urn set in the soil, hidden by blocks of schist. No other material from this Tomb is known.[127]

Bibliography: Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 20, figs. 12 and 13-1, Pl. XIII-3. Pellicer, *MMitt.*, 4, p. 12, figs. 5-1 and 10-1. Maluquer, *Zephyrus*, XIV, Pl. III. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, fig. 51. Culican, *Levant*, 2, pp. 28 f. Garcia y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 8 (p. 16). García y Bellido, Schubart, Niemeyer, *L'espansione fenicia*, fig. 21.

Date: Tomb 11 belongs, from its position in the Necropolis, to its earlier group, with a date in the middle of the 8th century, probably rather before than after the year 750. The jar itself belongs to a type well attested in Egypt during the XVIIIth Dynasty, but there is nothing to say that the same type did not go on being manufactured into the 9th and 8th centuries, the period to which the Cerro de San Cristóbal jars with inscription are dated and to which the great majority of uninscribed jars from the same deposit are also to be dated; cf. my remarks on No. 24.07.

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[125] This is how it is reconstructed by Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, fig. 10 (p. 17). Garcia y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 8 (p. 16) places it in fact among the other "flat-based" jars.

[126] Culican, *Levant*, 2, p. 31.

[127] I have taken the description of the Tomb from Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 20.

Description: Alabaster jar of ovoid shape with a small mouth, flared outwards to the rim and two vertical handles of circular section. This vessel belongs to a type commonly known as a "Canaanite jar",[128] characterized in particular by the way the lower part narrows in comparison with the upper part.[129] The type, however, is well known in Egypt itself, from as early as the XVIIIth Dynasty, where it was called a *hebenet* vessel, a big jar for beer, wine, oil, honey, fruit, and incense.[130] This does not mean that the Egyptians confined the name *hebenet* in any absolute way to big jars with the lower part of the body narrower than the upper. But it does seem clear that at least during the XVIIIth Dynasty this was exactly the shape of the *hebenet* jar[131] and for that reason it seems to me appropriate to keep the Egyptian name for this type. In Egypt, the *hebenet* jar was in principle of pottery but it is known that pottery vessels were copied in stone.[132]

Parallels: As I have just said the *hebenet* form of jar is perfectly well known in Egypt, first in pottery[133] and with two, one, or no handles, and later copied in stone from the XVIIIth Dynasty onward.[134] During the Late Period this form is not so frequent. By way of example, however, I refer to the jar found in the Chamber of Psusennes in the Royal Necropolis at Tanis, although this ends in a narrow foot with several mouldings.[135] This type of jar is well known in Palestine, which is the reason why some authors call them "Canaanite jars",[136] and one example was recovered from Assur.[137] In the Peninsula I can mention the jar from Tomb 17 of the Cerro de San Cristóbal Necropolis, my No. 24.20, while that from Tomb 16, No. 24.19, is intermediate between these and those of elongated oval shape. One alabaster jar founded at Carthage, at the level Tanit I, also belongs to the *hebenet* type.[138]

Conclusion: Vessel of Egyptian manufacture.

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[128] Culican, *Levant*, 2, pp. 28 f.

[129] García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 8 (p. 16). García y Bellido, Schubart, Niemeyer, *L'espansione fenicia*, fig. 21. These jars are in the fourth row of García y Bellido's chart.

[130] du Mesnil, *Noms et signes*, pp. 28 f.

[131] At least, all the vessels shown by du Mesnil, *Noms et signes*, pp. 28 f., by way of example, have this form, either without handles, or with one or two handles.

[132] du Mesnil, *Noms et signes*, p. 147.

[133] du Mesnil, *Noms et signes*, pp. 28 f.

[134] Culican, *Levant*, 2, p. 28.

[135] Montet, *Tanis*, II, p. 165, Pl. CXXIX.

[136] Culican, *Levant*, 2, pp. 28 f.

[137] Culican, *Levant*, 2, p. 29.

[138] Cintas, *Manuel*, I, Pl. XVIII, 80.

Almuñécar, No. 24.14 Vessel (Pl. XCVI)

Material and Colour: White alabaster.

Measurements: height 36 cm., diameter of mouth 17 cm.

Place of Keeping: Granada Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 8326).

Circumstances of Discovery: Came to light in Tomb 12 (Pls. XCIV-XCV), which was located and excavated by Pellicer's team in April 1963. The ground-plan of its well is of irregular ovoid shape, with an east-west axis of 2.25 m. and a north-south axis of 1.65 m. at the surface. The well is of truncated cone form with a depth of 3.30 m. At the bottom centre was the alabaster funerary urn embedded in the soil. In contact with the upper part of the jar was a dish with rodent or bird bones and two oenochoae, all protected by big blocks of schist. The furniture of the Tomb thus comprised, besides the alabaster jar:

A wheel-made dish of friable composition, reddish with burnished reddish chestnut slip; rims slightly turned over and a somewhat concave foot.

An oenochoe, wheel-made and mushroom-mouthed, of friable reddish-cream composition; burnished reddish chestnut slip; body of ovoid tendency, high gullet, wide projecting rim offset and turned over, vertical handle of circular section attached to the neck and shoulders; vestigial concave foot and surface accretions of limestone; height 21 cm.

An oenochoe, wheel-made and piriform, of friable reddish cream composition; burnished reddish chestnut slip; piriform, with the shoulders separated from the belly by a moulding; trefoil-mouthed; broad double handle; vestigial concave foot; height 21 cm.

The alabaster jar contained human ashes.[139]

Bibliography: Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 20, figs. 14 and 15-1, Pl. XIV-2. Pellicer, *MMitt.*, 4, p. 12, figs. 5-2 and 11. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, p. 194, fig. 52, Pl. 79 A. García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, pp. 14f. and 18, figs. 8 (p. 16) and 10 (p. 17). García y Bellido, Schubart, Niemeyer, *L'espansione fenicia*, fig. 21.

Date: It is possible to give Tomb 12 a relatively late date, perhaps in the second half of the 8th century, both from its position in the whole Necropolis and from its being the first in which two oenochoae were deposited as furniture, one mushroom-mouthed and the other piriform, both with red slip. The date of manufacture must probably be put in the 9th-8th centuries, like the jars with hieroglyphic inscriptions in the same deposit; for which cf. my remarks on No. 24.07.

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[139] I have taken the description of the Tomb and its furniture from Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 20.

Description: Alabaster jar of ogival shape, with the neck indicated and the lower extremity footed, without handles. It was found in fragments. Belongs to the type called "bullet-shaped".

Parallels: This jar is very like that found in Tomb 3A of the same Necropolis, my No. 24.09, in connection with which I have referred to its abundant parallels in Egypt and other Mediterranean areas. Another parallel in the Peninsula for this jar is that found probably at the mouth of the River Barbate, now in the Osborne Collection at Puerto de Santa María.[140]

Conclusion: Vessel of Egyptian manufacture.

Almuñécar, No. 24.15 Vessel (Pl. XCIX)

Material and Colour: White alabaster, of bad quality.

Measurements: height 31 cm.

Place of Keeping: Granada Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 8327).

Circumstances of Discovery: Came to light in Tomb 13 (Pls. XCVII-XCVIII), located and excavated by Professor Pellicer's team in April 1963. This was a tomb of circular ground-plan, with a diameter of 1.80 m. and a depth of 3.50 m. At the bottom centre was found embedded in the soil the alabaster funerary urn, hidden under some blocks of schist, and containing human ashes. Above the schist blocks and adjoining the south-east wall was found pottery covered by another big block of the same stone. This furniture comprised:

A wheel-made dish with rim slightly turned over and somewhat concave foot, of friable reddish composition; the internal surface has a reddish wash applied by wheel; diameter 25 cm.

An oenochoe wheel-made, mushroom-mouthed, of reddish cream friable composition, with a burnished reddish chestnut slip; body of truncated cone tendency, with high throat, broad rim, projecting and turned over; vertical handle of circular section attached to neck and shoulders; vestigial concave foot, limestone accretions; in fragments; height 20 cm.

An oenochoe wheel-made, piriform, of friable reddish cream composition with a burnished reddish chestnut slip; in form and characteristics similar to that of Tomb 12, although more paunchy and less elegant; height 19.5 cm.[141]

Bibliography: Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 20, figs. 16 and 17-1, Pl. XIII-2. Pellicer, *MMitt.*, 4, p. 12, fig. 12-1. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, p. 194, fig. 52. Garcia y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 8 (p. 16). García y Bellido, Schubart, Niemeyer, *L'espansione fenicia*, fig. 21.

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[140] Garcia y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, pp. 11 ff.

[141] Description of the Tomb and its furniture taken from Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 20 and 22.

Date: From its position in the Necropolis and from its having two oenochoae in its furniture it is possible to give Tomb 13 a fairly late date, probably in the second half of the 8th century. The date of manufacture of the vessel must in all probability be put in the 9th-8th centuries, which would correspond to the dates of the jars with hieroglyphic inscriptions at Cerro de San Cristóbal; on which cf. my remarks on No. 24.07.

Description: Alabaster jar of oval form with globular tendency, with a small cylindrical throat and two lugs or teats, filed to give them a vertical hole, doing duty as handles. The material of which the jar is made is of bad quality. García y Bellido classifies this jar among those of "oval shape",[142] but while we may provisionally accept the classification in order not to create a special group for this one piece, it must be recognized that its profile sets it rather apart from the other vessels of the type, as also does the vertical, instead of horizontal perforation of its handles.

Parallels: In general, for the jars of oval form, cf. my remarks on No. 24.08, found in Tomb 2 at Cerro de San Cristóbal, which has this form. Another vessel of oval form from the Peninsula is that found in Tomb 19 B of this same Necropolis, my No. 24.22. The profile of globular tendency of the present jar is fairly close to that of one in the Cairo Museum, probably late,[143] and the spherical vessel No. 26.02, found in Chamber 2 at Trayamar. On the other hand I should like to draw attention here to the undeniable similarity of the alabaster jar of Tomb 13 at Cerro de San Cristóbal, globular and with lugs vertically pierced, to a certain type of pottery urns characteristic of Peninsular Phoenico-Punic deposits, as also of ancient Iberian deposits. I refer to the globular urns with lug handles, urns hermetically sealed with the lid sawn across at the level of the lugs.[144]

Conclusion: Vessel certainly of Egyptian manufacture.

Almuñécar, No. 24.16 Vessel (Pl. CI)

Material and Colour: White alabaster.

Measurements: height 63 cm.

Place of Keeping: Granada Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 8328).

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Tomb 14 (Pls. C-CI), which was located and excavated by Pellicer's team in April 1963. The tomb was of ovate ground-plan, with a maximum diameter of 2.20 m. and a depth at its centre point of 2.80 m. On its south side is a niche going 0.50 m. deeper and 0.60 m. into the wall. Inside was a cinerary jar of alabaster. The niche was closed by three blocks of schist placed on top of one another and protected by other blocks. Inside the alabaster jar were human ashes and objects of adornment. The latter comprised two fragments of copper, perhaps belonging to a bracelet, of circular section; a pendant amulet case of silver, in the shape of an octagonal prism hemispherical at one end, a flat lid at the other with a horizontal cylinder closed by discs, the whole 3.2 cm. long. In the Tomb furniture there was also a sort of bone amulet, of ovate form with attachments, badly damaged by fire, with a maximum diameter of 2.2 cm., and two spherical bronze beads 0.6 cm. in diameter.[145]

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[142] García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 8 (p. 16).

[143] Bissing, *CGC.*, *Steingefässe*, p. 55, No. 18322; height 11 cm.

[144] Several studies have already appeared on this very characteristic ware; cf. in particular Fletcher, *VIII CNA*, pp. 305ff., and especially Jully et Nordstrom, *APL*, XI, pp. 99ff.

Bibliography: Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 22, figs. 18 and 19-1, Pl. IV-3 and XIII-5. Pellicer, *MMitt.*, 4, p. 12, figs. 4-2 and 13-1. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, p. 194, fig. 52, Pl. 79 B. García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 8 (p. 16). García y Bellido, Schubart, Niemeyer, *L'espansione fenicia*, fig. 21.

Date: From its position in the whole Necropolis of Cerro de San Cristóbal Tomb 14 must be relatively late there, probably within the second half of the 8th century. The date of manufacture of the jar must remain 9th-8th-century, like the jars with hieroglyphic inscriptions in the same deposit; on which cf. my remarks on No. 24.07.

Description: Alabaster jar, of elongated ovoid shape, with a small gullet and a slightly projecting rim; vertical handles of circular section. This jar belongs to the type of "elongated oval shape".

Parallels: This jar is very similar to that found in Tomb 1 A of this same Necropolis, my No. 24.06, in connection with which I have already cited parallels from Egypt and other Mediterranean localities. Other similar jars found in the Peninsula are those from Tombs 15 A and 20 of the Cerro de San Cristóbal Necropolis, my Nos. 24.17 and 24.23.

Conclusion: Vessel of Egyptian manufacture.

Almuñécar, No. 24.17 Vessel (Pls. CVI-CVII)

Material and Colour: White alabaster.

Measurements: height 57 cm.

Place of Keeping: Granada Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 8329).

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Niche A of Tomb 15 (Pls. CII-CIV), which was located and excavated by Pellicer's team in April 1963. The Tomb was of oval ground-plan, with a maximum diameter on a north-south orientation of 1.70 m. and a depth of 2.60 m. On its south side were two niches. Niche B went 0.60 m. deeper and 1.20 m. into the wall, being 0.60 m. wide and 0.60 m. high. Inside it was a cinerary urn of alabaster, my No. 24.18, and beside it to the east a dish and to the west a double-beaked lamp. The niche was closed by three blocks of schist on top of one another. Niche A went 0.20 m. deeper and 0.80 m. into the wall, with a height of 0.90 m., situated east of Niche B. Inside it was the cinerary urn, that is, the present alabaster jar with hieroglyphic inscription. Niche A was closed by one big block of schist. Its alabaster jar contained human ashes but nothing else in the way of furniture.[146]

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[145] Description of the Tomb and its furniture taken from Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 22.

Bibliography: Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 22, 24 and 52, figs. 21, 22-1 and 22-2, Pl. IV-4, IX-1, IX-2, IX-3 and XII. Pellicer, *MMitt.*, 4, pp. 12 and 23, fig. 14-1-2, Pl. 15. Maluquer, *Zephyrus*, XIV, Pl. IV. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 33, 2-3, p. 404. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, p. 194, figs. 49 and 53, Pl. 80 A. Cintas, *Manuel*, I, p. 436. Maluquer, *Tartessos*, Pl. between pp. 40 and 41. García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 8 (p. 16). García y Bellido, Schubart, Niemeyer, *L'espansione fenicia*, fig. 21. Gamer-Wallert, *XII CNA*, p. 406.

Date: The hieroglyphic text on this jar in this case does mention the name of its owner, called Osorkon, a resident in Bubastis. The breakage of the jar in the most unlucky place prevents us from identifying this personage in a satisfying way, since we ignore both his filiation and whether he was alive or not;[147] we only know that his *ka* — integral part of the human being which never leaves him — is in Bubastis. Taking into consideration his name — Osorkon — and his place of residence — Bubastis, birth-place of the XXIInd Dynasty — it is not altogether preposterous to arrive at the conclusion that the owner of the jar belonged to the royal family of Bubastis, that is, to the XXIInd Dynasty itself. If it were so, two possibilities lay open: whether our Osorkon did or did not become king. Of the five personages by this name mentioned by Kitchen who did not reach the throne only two belonged to the royal House of Bubastis: Osorkon B, High Priest of Amun at Thebes between the years 840 and 785, though only intermittently from the year 835 onward, and son of King Takelot II;[148] and Osorkon E, son of the short-lived Sheshonq II and a certain lady Nesitaudjat-akhet, who only attained the rank of Prophet of Amun.[149] The earlier date of the second of these — beginning of the 9th century — and the minor importance of his office, together with the kinship of the first with Takelot II, lead me to prefer him as the most probable owner of the alabaster jar we are dealing with. Nevertheless, there is the possibility that the Osorkon of this jar became king later on. In this case, for chronological reasons, he could have been Osorkon II (874-850) or Osorkon III (777-749), but the first with greater chances than the latter, since he is already recorded as pharaoh in two jars of Almuñécar — Nos. 24.20 and 24.23 —, and the latter does not belong to the XXIInd Dynasty but to the XXIIIrd. Thus we are lead to identify provisionally Osorkon B, High Priest of Amun, or the future Osorkon II as the first owner of the said jar, with perhaps a slight preference for the first instead of the latter, yet restating the fact that all this is absolutely hypothetical for want of more elements to judge by: so, the kinship of this Osorkon with the royal family of Bubastis is only presumable. In any case, his name confirms that, whoever he was, he must have lived at the time of the Lybian kings, that is, between the 9th and 8th centuries. These limits are confirmed by the very form of the jar, similar to the others of the Cerro de San Cristóbal Necropolis manufactured in the same period. The Tomb 15 itself, from its relative position in the Necropolis, must be dated about the year 700 or perhaps slightly earlier in the second half of the 8th century.

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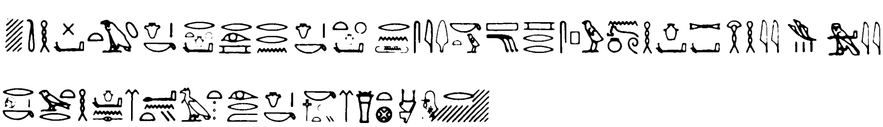
[146] I have taken the description of this Tomb from Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 22 and 24.

[147] The fact that these jars could belong to living personages is proved by the existence of a jar belonging to Takelot, son of Tentsai, High Priest of Amun, who later on became Takelot III: Gamer-Wallert, *XII CNA*, p. 406.

[148] Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 480, plan 13.

[149] Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 307 and 514.

Description: Alabaster jar of ovoid form, with truncated cone gullet, vertical handles of circular section, one of them broken off and attached to the jar with rivets. It is of "elongated oval shape". On a level with the handles the jar is surrounded with a hieroglyphic inscription flanked by two parallel lines distant about 2.5 cm from each other and 75 cm long in the whole, and with the signs fairly well engraved, reading from right to left. The inscription is interrupted by the handles and the breaking of one of them has produced a lacuna of some consequence, the only one in the inscription.



The translation, starting from this lacuna, is as follows:[150]

"...(a). Thy heart shall make itself drunk to do that which forever pleaseth thy heart. Make thyself drunk until eternity (b). Be merry (c) being sober (d). What she forever loveth (e) is drunkenness (f). Braid a crown and set it upon thy head (after) she is anointed (g) with incense (h). Act forever in accordance with thy heart. Protect (i) in Bubastis (j) the ka of Osor[kon](k)..."

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[150] We wish to express once more our recognition to Prof. François Daumas for his inestimable help in the understanding of this text; it was he who made us realize the Hathoric nature of it.

(a) The first sentence is too lacunary to be translated with any certainty.

(b) *nḥḥ*, hypothetical reading; the last sign reads *ʾImn* and, since Amun is *nḥḥ*,[151] the opposite pun is just as possible. These puns are very much cherished by hieroglyphic writing and begin to be common during the First Millenium, ending up as the absolute basis of Ptolemaic writing. In our case, moreover, this pun is vouched by the presence of the phonetic complement *n* inmediately before the sign *ʾImn*, becoming a clue that suggests the reading *nḥḥ*.

(c) *sỉmꜣ*: litterally this verb means "produce the heart joy", an acceptation recorded during the XVIIIth Dynasty and in the Ptolemaic period.[152]

(d) *wš(.w)*: verb in old perfective form, litterally "being empty"[153], also relatable with the verb *wšr*, "being dry".[154] The same sign *w* is used in this sentence for the word *tw* and as well for the word *wš*, which is a relatively common usage in hieroglyphical writing.

(e) *mrr.s*: this sentence is obscure, since it is not clear to whom is referred here the feminine suffix pronoun *.s*. It is possible that it refers to the goddess Hathor, who is not mentioned directly perhaps because some sentences would have been omitted in copying the text on the jar, supposedly in order not to reveal the identity of the divinity alluded to.[155] Further on, in this same text appears another feminine suffix in again a not very explicit context, as is documented in note (g).

(f) *nwḥ*: "drunkenness", "being drunk", acceptation recorded since the XXIInd Dynasty and very frequently during the Ptolemaic period; it is refered especially to Hathor, "Lady of Drunkenness".[156] The text is interrupted in the middle of this word to give place to the jar's unbroken handle.

(g) *wrḥ.n.s*: the sign *t* above the sign *wr* seems to be no more than a mistake of a lapicide used to writing the word *wrt*. On the other hand, the feminine suffix pronoun *.s* which appears again here must refer to the same divinity or person we have mentioned *supra* in note (e).

(h) *ʿntyw*: in spite of some doubts, it seems better to translate this term as "incense" or "olibanum" rather than as "myrrh".[157]

(i) *nḏ*: without doubt, this is the word that has been written here, in a passage full of ortographic mistakes; the sign 𓎡 must be suppressed, since probably it is merely an erroneous reduplication of the *.k* with which had ended the previous sentence; the sign *nḏ* can be distinctly identified, and the circle on the top behind it corresponds to the sign ○ which usually goes along with it. As to the group *ty* on the lower part, it is probably another mistake of the lapicide, who might have mistaken the hieratic graphy of the sign 𓃀 or simply the sign 𓃀 from the papyrus he was copying.[158]

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[151] Erman und Grapow, *Wb.*, II, p. 302, 13.

[152] Erman und Grapow, *Wb.*, IV, p. 37, 8.

[153] Erman und Grapow, *Wb.*, I, p. 368, 7.

[154] Daumas, *R. d'Égyp.*, 22, p. 76, n. 1.

[155] The identification of the goddess here is based on the juxtaposed allusions to sobriety and drunkenness; fasting and ebriety are known to be practised simultaneously by the same person, devotee of Hathor, conforming one of the characteristic rites of the Hathoric mysteries; see Daumas, *R. d'Égyp.*, 22, pp. 75 f., with numerous references to this subject.

[156] Erman und Grapow, *Wb.*, II, p. 224, 3-9.

[157] François Daumas, *L'offrande simultanée de l'encens et de l'or dans les temples de l'époque tardive*, in *Revue d'Égyptologie*, 27, Paris, 1975, p. 107; the Egyptians made a liturgical oil with incense or olibanum with which they anointed their gods.

(j) *Bꜣst*: Bubastis, a city on the East Delta of the Nile, birthplace of the XXIInd Dynasty.[159].

(k) *Wsr*[*kn*]: Osorkon, the name of the owner of the jar; in spite of the fact that the inscription is broken at this spot, the reading of the name is beyond any doubt.[160] As we have stated before, it is possible that this Osorkon, belonging to the royal family of Bubastis, was either the High Priest of Amun in Thebes, the son of Takelot II,[161] or the future king Osorkon II.

Although this text is written in Classic Egyptian, we have been able to notice already a number of acceptations and graphic peculiarities characteristic of the Late Period.

In contrast with the case of the text on the alabaster jar from tomb 1, No. 24.06, no study of this inscription has been published yet, except for a passing mention by Gamer-Wallert.[162] This is explained by the fact that this text has a somewhat incoherent appearance, with passages of obscure meaning, extravagances, and even authentic ortographic errors, all of which makes interpretation a difficult task. Nevertheless, the recognition in it of the *sobria ebrietas* mentioned by Philo of Alexandria, the juxtaposed allusions to the need of soberness and drunkenness which we know were taken into practice by the devotees of Hathor,[163] leaves no place for doubt. The text of jar No. 24.17 must be related to Hathor, with veiled references to the mysteries of the goddess — impossible to unveil totally for the very fact that they were indeed mysteries — which, like for instance the mysteries of Dionysus in Greece, turned drunkenness into a means of abolishing the barriers between this world and that of the gods.[164] Therefore, we may conclude that the jar was originally meant to contain wine and that it was the property, at least initially, of an initiate in the mysteries of Hathor — which are veiledly described in the hieroglyphical text engraved on the jar.

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[158] For the correct ortography of the word *nḏ* see Gardiner, *Grammar*, p. 577, and Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p. 143.

[159] Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 100, 128 f. and 287.

[160] Gamer-Wallert, *XII CNA*, p. 406, was the first to recognize the name here, though without attempting to identify the historical personage to which the inscription referred. The name *Wsrkn* is listed by Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, p. 87, 2.

[161] Gauthier, *L. R.*, III, pp. 357 f., XIX, thinks this personage, son of Takelot II and Queen Karomana, was the future Osorkon III, but this opinion has been rejected in our day; cf. the genealogical table published by Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 476 f., Table 10.

[162] Gamer-Wallert, *XII CNA*, p. 406.

[163] Daumas, *R. d'Égyp.*, 22, pp. 75 f.

[164] Paraphrasing Daumas, *R. d'Égyp.*, 22, p. 75.

Parallels: This jar is very similar to those found in Tombs 1 A, 14, and 20 of the Cerro de San Cristóbal Necropolis, respectively Nos. 24.06, 24.16, and 24.23. In connection with the first of these I have already cited parallels for the type of vessel of "elongated oval form".

Conclusion: Vessel of Egyptian manufacture, with a hieroglyphic inscription engraved in Egypt. The inscription contains an invocation in favour of the ka of a personage called Osorkon, who probably belonged to the royal family of Bubastis (XXIInd Dynasty). It is interesting to note that of the four alabaster jars found at Cerro de San Cristóbal of "elongated oval shape",[165] three have a hieroglyphic inscription, which proves them to be highly prized jars. One of these inscriptions is illegible, but several conclusions can be infered from the other two, Nos. 24.06 and 24.17:

— Both inscriptions allude in a more or less veiled way to the content of the jar, that is, wine.

— Both inscriptions have a religious subject matter, although none of them is a funerary text or, to say the least, not necessarily funerary.

Therefore, these are jars meant to contain wine, probably of high quality to match that of the vessel. At the moment of being inscribed, these jars were destined either to Egyptians initiated in the mysteries of Hathor, or to foreigners. The texts they exhibit allude to the religious and ritual value of the wine, and appear to be something like a "guarantee of origin" of the contents. Hence, we find it reasonable to infer that the other Egyptian alabaster vessels of this same period were jars of wine as well, and including among them the numerous anepigraphs found as cinerary urns at the necropolis of Cerro de San Cristóbal, especially since other jars with hieroglyphic inscriptions of different origin always refer to their wine content.[166] These wine jars would usually be destined for the living, although they could be used too as funerary offerings, as in fact has been proved for instance at the royal necropolis of Tanis. Surely jars with inscriptions were more prized than anepigraphs even in foreign countries, which may account for the commercialization of some of them with the name of the owner, undoubtedly when he had already amortized them.

Therefore, Egyptian alabaster jars spread throughout the Mediterranean, with their more or less explicit inscriptions, document the existence of a trade of fine wine actively practised by Egypt with foreign nations during the

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[165] Cf. García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 8 (p. 16), second row down.

[166] Gamer-Wallert, *XII CNA*, p. 406. It seems appropiate to add to these literary testimonies inscribed on the jars the representation of a mask of Bes on Jar No. 24.20, also from Almuñécar, because of the relation of this god with the drunk and merry procession of the goddess Hathor upon her return from Africa.

XXIInd Dynasty. Nevertheless, it is obvious that together with this wine of quality, Egypt also must have exported normal wine simply bottled in common amphorae. As far as we know, there are no extanct written documents on this trade, but we find its existence to be beyond doubt, together with the fine wine, which is documented, and which becomes still more evident considering Egypt's wine-producing capacity as suggested in other sources.[167] Moreover, we know that wine was an integral part of Phoenician trade in the Iberian Peninsula from the beginning, and that among the most ancient Phoenician imports found in native deposits there are precisely wine amphorae.[168] Accordingly, it is possible that, together with other Egyptian products, Egyptian wine also arrived at the coast of the Western Mediterranean transported in Phoenician ships since even the 8th century.

Almuñécar, No. 24.18 Vessel (Pl. CV)

Material and Colour: White alabaster.

Measurements: height 46 cm.

Place of Keeping: Granada Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 8330).

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Niche B of Tomb 15 (Pls. CII-CIV), located and excavated by Professor Pellicer's team in April 1963. The Tomb and its two niches, A and B, have already been described in connection with the alabaster jar with hieroglyphic inscription No. 24.17, which was found in Niche A. The alabaster jar of Niche B of Tomb 15 contained human ashes. Together with it were found, to the east a wheel-made dish of reddish friable composition, with a reddish burnished slip on its interior surface, the rim slightly turned over and the bottom flat, measuring 27.5 cm. in diameter; and to the west a wheel-made double-beaked lamp of reddish friable composition with the surface in bad condition, in fragments, its longitudinal axis measuring 11.2 cm. and its transverse axis 12.2 cm.[169]

Bibliography: Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 22 and 24, figs. 20 and 22-3, Pl. XIV-3. Pellicer, *MMitt.*, 4, p. 12, fig. 14-3, Pl. 16. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, p. 194, fig. 53, Pl. 80 B. Culican, *Levant*, 2, p. 31. Garcia y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 8 (p. 16). Garcia y Bellido, Schubart, Niemeyer, *L'espansione fenicia*, fig. 21.

Date: I have already mentioned in connection with No. 24.17 that the date of Tomb 15 at Cerro de San Cristóbal must be within the second half of the

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[167] See note 75 in this same chapter.

[168] Arteaga y Serna, *XIII CNA*, p. 743.

[169] Description of the furniture of Niche B of Tomb 15 taken from Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 22 and 24.

8th century or perhaps towards the year 700. As for the present jar, it is difficult to assign a date of manufacture to it, though we may perhaps say 9th-8th centuries, like the jars with hieroglyphic inscription found in the same Necropolis; on which cf. my remarks on No. 24.07.

Description: Jar of truncated cone tendency, with a wide cylindrical neck and a flat base. Its surface is in bad condition. It belongs to the "flat-based" type.

Parallels: The profile of this jar has some likeness to that of No. 24.10 found in Tomb 3 B and of No. 24.12 probably found in Tomb 10, though these both have handles and it does not. Culican thinks this jar is of non-Egyptian form,[170] but I cannot see any grounds for this opinion. Apart from noting the parallels cited for No. 24.10, I observe that the present jar is similar to, though more paunchy than, the well-known and abundant Canopic jars, which however, with perhaps one exception, are not represented in the Peninsula.[171]

Conclusion: Probably of Egyptian manufacture.

Almuñécar, No. 24.19 Vessel (Pls CX-CXII)

Material and Colour: White alabaster.

Measurements: height 47.5 cm.

Place of Keeping: Granada Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 8331).

Circumstances of Discovery: This jar was found in Tomb 16 (Pls. CVIII-CIX), which has already been described with its furniture in connection with the scarab No. 24.03, which was found inside the jar together with human ashes.

Bibliography: Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 24 and 52, figs. 23 and 24-1-2, Pl. VI-2, VII-5, VIII-1, IX-4 and XII. Pellicer, *MMitt.*, 4, pp. 12 and 23, fig. 15-1-2, Pl. 12 a. Maluquer, *Zephyrus*, XIV, p. 59. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 33, 2-3, p. 404. Díaz Esteban, *Sefarad*, XXV, 2, pp. 284 and 286. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, p. 194, fig. 54, Pl. 81 A and B. Leclant, *Role of the Phoenicians*, p. 13. Cintas, *Manuel*, I, p. 436. Maluquer, *Tartessos*, p. 74. Culican, *Levant*, 2, p. 28. Ferron, *TPreh.*, 27, p. 183. García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 8 (p. 16). García y Bellido, Schubart, Niemeyer, *L'espansione fenicia*, fig. 21. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 324, n. 451. Padró, *XIII CNA*, pp. 751 ff. Schubart, *L Aniversario Lab. Arq.*, p. 201.

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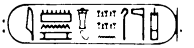
[170] Culican, *Levant*, 2, p. 31.

[171] This was a Canopic jar recently acquired by the *Museo Arqueológico Nacional*, which according to its owners had come to light at the end of last century in a Churriana necropolis, on which cf. the section of the present work devoted to doubtful and counterfeit pieces. Another Canopic jar of unknown provenance, from the Fernández Canivell Collection at Malaga, was probably acquired in Egypt, cf. Gamer-Wallert, *TPreh.*, 29, pp. 267 ff., especially p. 270.

Date: From its position in the Necropolis Tomb 16 must probably be dated to the second half of the 8th century. The jar is engraved with the cartouche of Sheshonq III, the pharaoh who reigned from 825 to 773 B.C., so that the jar must have been manufactured during this period. In view of this Pharaoh's long reign we must accept a lifetime above ground for this jar of something between a quarter of a century and a whole century.

Description: Ovate alabaster jar, with a gullet with projecting rim and two vertical handles of circular section, one of which had been lost even before the burial. García y Bellido has classified this among the *hebenet* jars (or "Canaanite jars"),[172] but its profile is actually intermediate between these and the jars of "elongated oval shape". At the level of the handles a hieroglyphic inscription enclosed between two lines runs right round the jar. The inscription is so badly engraved as to be completely illegible, only a few of the signs being recognizable. From the traces which can be recognized it appears even that some signs go from right to left while others go from left to right. The inscription includes two cartouches, as badly engraved as the rest of the signs, and so equally illegible. In one of them, however, specifically that at the back of the jar, it does seem possible to recognize one or two signs, so that the hypothesis can be put forward, with all reserve, that it carries the name of Sheshonq. On the front of the jar and below the inscription another cartouche, very poorly engraved, placed vertically in the upper half of the jar, equidistant from the two handles, crowned with the sun-disk and the double *maât* feather and resting directly over it the gold sign: . The cartouche is flanked by two inverted lotus flowers, all very poorly executed. The cartouche reads as follows: "Sheshonq Meryamun Si-Bastet", or "Sheshonq, beloved of Amun, son of Bastet", and is accompanied by the epithets "governor and god of Heliopolis".[173] This cartouche was from the very first moment attributed to Sheshonq II,[174] and the attribution was accepted by the immense majority of scholars who wrote about it.[175]

My own doubts about this identification arose from two different considerations. First, Sheshonq II was an obscure monarch whose burial was found by Montet at Tanis, in the vestibule of the tomb of Psusennes I,[176] and who can never have had an independent reign. Drioton and Vandier in their list of kings intercalate him between Osorkon II and Takelot II,[177] but elsewhere they note that he was a mere co-regent of Takelot II who never reached the throne.[178] Gardiner considered the very existence of such a pharaoh as hypothetical and went so far as to suggest identifying him with Sheshonq I.[179] Finally Kitchen, in a re-examination of the whole question, concluded that he was a king distinct from Sheshonq I and changed the place within the XXIInd Dynasty assigned to him by Drioton and Vandier. From his names and grave-goods Kitchen placed Sheshonq II at the beginning of the Dynasty, plausibly supposing him to have been a co-regent of Osorkon I at the end of the latter's reign and to have died before him.[180] His co-regency, the duration of which cannot be exactly determined, must according to Kitchen have been around the year 890 B.C.[181] From all this we extract the point that Sheshonq II was not a king but merely an ephemeral co-regent, probably of Osorkon I, of whom we know almost nothing.

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[172] García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 8 (p. 16).

[173] Padró, *XIII CNA*, p. 754.

[174] Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 24 and 52. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 33, 2-3, p. 404.

[175] As I have already indicated in the introduction to this Chapter, only Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 324, n. 451, mentions in passing and in a footnote the existence in Spain of alabaster jars with the names of several pharaohs of the XXIInd Dynasty, Sheshonq III among them.

[176] Montet, *Tanis*, I, p. 11. Montet, *Tanis*, II, pp. 36ss. Cf. Gardiner, *Egypt*, p. 448. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 117ff.

My second source of doubt was that the alabaster jar of Tomb 16 bears only one cartouche with the *nomen* of a Sheshonq, in contrast with the jars of Tombs 1, 17, and 20, which bear two cartouches with the *praenomen* and the *nomen* of Takelot II and Osorkon II. In the circumstances it is legitimate to ask why the solitary cartouche of the Tomb 16 jar came to be regarded as that of Sheshonq II in particular rather than one of the other Sheshonqs of the XXIInd and XXIIIrd Dynasties, right down to Sheshonq VI, and all of them more illustrious than Sheshonq II. Thus if we reject the identification with Sheshonq II for the simple reason that we know no other monuments to him but his own burial, the only pharaoh of the period of the XXIInd and XXIIIrd Dynasties who habitually made use of the names and epithets engraved on the Cartouche of Tomb 16 at Cerro de San Cristóbal was Usimare Setepenamun (Setepenre), Sheshonq Meryamun Si-Bastet, that is the one now known by Egyptologists as Sheshonq III,[182] who reigned from 825 to 773, well into the 8th century. I have only found one other case in which a different pharaoh, Sheshonq I, accompanied his *nomen* with the same titles and epithets, though the evidence for this is not free from mistakes of engraving.[183] But the remote date of the reign of Sheshonq I, and above all, the extreme regularity with which Sheshonq III used the epithet "son of Bastet"[184] put it beyond doubt that he was the one referred to. One question remains. How did the confusion arise? Gauthier, when he published in 1914 the corresponding volume of the *Livre des Rois d'Égypte* gave Sheshonq III the number II, though Sheshonq II had not yet been discovered by Montet.[185] This may have been the origin of the confusion, though it still remains difficult to explain how the ephemeral Sheshonq II could be confused with Gauthier's Sheshonq II seeing that he assigned him a reign of at least thirtynine years.[186]

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[177] Drioton et Vandier, *L'Égypte*^{4}, p. 631.

[178] Drioton et Vandier, *L'Égypte*^{4}, p. 529.

[179] Gardiner, *Egypt*, p. 448.

[180] Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 117 ff., 309 f.

[181] Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 467.

[182] Gauthier, *L.R.*, III, pp. 361 ff. Cf. in particular Gardiner, *Egypt*, p. 448, and also the identification in question by Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 324, n. 451.

[183] Gauthier, *L.R.*, III, p. 316, XLVII.

Parallels: For the parallels of *hebenet* jars in general cf. my remarks on No. 24.13, found probably in Tomb 11. This and No. 24.20, found in Tomb 17, are the jars which most resemble the present one among those of Cerro de San Cristóbal and the Peninsula in general. For the parallels among jars of "elongated oval shape", cf. my remarks on No. 24.06, found in Cerro de San Cristóbal Tomb 1 A.

Conclusion: Manufactured in Egypt. The cartouche of Sheshonq III and the inscription were also probably engraved in Egypt in the reign of that pharaoh. The slovenliness of the engraving, particularly in the case of the inscription, is to be explained simply by the fact that it was an article for export abroad. If, as has been suggested, it was an imitation executed by foreigners, Phoenicians for instance, this would have no further significance, but the signs would have been well made, as is the case with the inscription on the Aliseda jar.

Almuñécar, No. 24.20 Vessel (Pls. CXV-CXIX)

Material and Colour: White alabaster.

Measurements: height 45 cm.

Place of Keeping: Granada Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 8332).

Circumstances of Discovery: The cinerary urn of Tomb 17 (Pls. CXIII-CXV). This Tomb was located and excavated by Pellicer's team in the campaign of April 1963. It was of circular ground-plan, with a diameter of 1.55 m. and a depth of 3.50 m. At the bottom to the north-west was a niche going 0.70 m. into the wall, with a width of 0.80 m. and a height of 0.85 m. Inside it was the alabaster cinerary urn, the present jar, containing human ashes. The niche was closed by two blocks of stone one on top of the other, with two more blocks leaning against them. Together with the alabaster jar and on its south side was a wheel-made dish, deep, with rim slightly turned over and concave base, of reddish friable composition, with the surface impaired, 27 cm. in diameter and 5 cm. high. In this Tomb too an interesting fragment of wheel-made ware was recovered with blackish painted parallel bands, belonging to a paunchy vessel with a rough surface. Other material found in the filling of the Tomb were fragments of five different dishes.[187]

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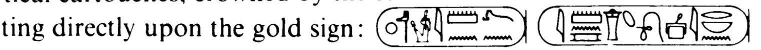
[184] Gauthier, *L.R.*, III, pp. 361 ff., II, VIII, IX A, IX B, XVII, XVIII, XIX A, XIX D, XXI, XXII B, XXIV, XXVI, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV.

[185] Gauthier, *L.R.*, III, p. 361 explains that "his" Sheshonq II was previously known as Sheshonq III because of another hypothetical earlier Sheshonq whose existence had been presumed. Gauthier found no authentic evidence of his existence and consequently corrected the numbering of the Sheshonq (Gauthier, *L.R.*, III, pp. 350f.). Later, when in 1939 Montet discovered a new Sheshonq, the numbering of the pharaohs of this name had to be revised once again; cf. Gardiner, *Egypt*, p. 448.

[186] Gauthier, *L.R.*, III, p. 361.

Bibliography: Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 24 and 52, figs. 25 and 26-1-2, Pl. IV-1 and VII-1-2-3. Pellicer, *MMitt.*, 4, pp. 12, 23f., figs. 4-1 and 16-1-2, Pl. 12 b, 13 a-b and 19. Maluquer, *Zephyrus*, XIV, p. 59, Pl. IV. Fernández-Chicarro, *VIII CNA*, p. 106, Pl. 15. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 33, 2-3, p. 404. Díaz Esteban, *Sefarad*, XXV, 2, p. 284. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, p. 194, fig. 54, Pl. 82 A and B, 83 A and B. Leclant, *Role of the Phoenicians*, p. 13. Pellicer, *V SIPP*, p. 303. Cintas, *Manuel*, I, p. 436. Maluquer, *Tartessos*, p. 74. Culican, *Levant*, 2, p. 28. Ferron, *TPreh.*, 27, p. 183. García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 8 (p. 16). García y Bellido, Schubart, Niemeyer, *L'espansione fenicia*, fig. 21. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 324, note 451. Padró, *XIII CNA*, pp. 751 ff. Schubart, *L Aniversario Lab. Arq.*, p. 201.

Date: From its position in the whole Necropolis, Tomb 17 must have been one of the earliest, datable perhaps to the beginning of the 8th century. The jar itself bears the cartouches of Osorkon II, the pharaoh who reigned from 874 to 850 B.C., so that this receptacle must probably have had a lifetime above ground of a little more than half a century.

Description: Alabaster jar of ovoid shape with the lower part of the body narrower than the upper, a slightly projecting neck and rim and vertical handles of circular section. To be classified by its form as a *hebenet* or "Canaanite" jar.[188] At the level of the handles and in the upper half of the body of the jar is engraved a head of the god Bes between two cartouches of Osorkon II, all of very poor workmanship. The god Bes, perfectly recognizable by his feline ears, his frontal gaze, snub nose, and beard, wears a high crest formed of five plumes, the middle one crowned with a kind of prolongation into a V reaching the attachment of the neck of the jar, and a kind of necklace from which hang a row of triangular pendants. In fact, this head of Bes represents a mask of the god hung on the jar, and the mentioned prolongation in V is but the representation of the ribbon or string from which the mask of Bes is supposed to be suspended to the alabaster jar. This is why the lines projecting from the upper fringe of Bes's tuft of feathers end up precisely on the base of the jar's neck. To the right and left of Bes's head are two vertical cartouches, crowned by the sun-disk and the double *maât* feather, and resting directly upon the gold sign:  .In the right-hand cartouche we read the *praenomen* Usimare Setepenamun, and in the left-hand one the *nomen* Osorkon Meryamun Si-Bastet. The identification of Osorkon II is almost certain.[189] For though there are two kings Osorkon with the same *praenomen*, one belonging to the XXIInd Dynasty, Usimare Setepenamun Osorkon (II) Meryamun, and the other to the XXIIIrd Dynasty, Usimare Setepenamun Osorkon (III) Meryamun,[190] Kitchen has satisfactorily demonstrated that they are two different kings and to distinguish them the epithet "son of Bastet" or "son of Isis" which occasionally accompanies their *nomen* is quite sufficient.[191] The cartouche of the *nomen* on the alabaster jar of Tomb 17, like that of Tomb 20, at Cerro de San Cristóbal are accompanied on both occasions by the epithet "son of Bastet". It is in fact, therefore, Osorkon II.

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[187] The description of the Tomb and its furniture are taken from Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 24 and 30.

[188] García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 8 (p. 16).

Parallels: For the parallels of the *hebenet* jars in general, cf. my remarks on No. 24.13, found probably in Tomb 11 at Cerro de San Cristóbal. This and No. 24.19, found in Tomb 16, are those that most resemble the present jar in the Peninsula.

Conclusion: Manufactured in Egypt in the time of Osorkon II, whose cartouches it bears. The presence of the face of Bes between the two cartouches can be explained on two distinct grounds, which may however here coincide. The jar may have been designed from the beginning for funerary use, and Bes would logically have his place there, as guardian of sleep and in the end of eternal sleep. In this quality Bes is present in numerous tombs of distinguished personages in Egypt, among them that of Tutankhamun. The jar could as well have been meant to contain wine, as Nos. 24.06 and 24.17, in which case the presence of Bes is likewise understandable, since hilarity — or merely joy itself — is one of the most effective weapons of this god in order to fight any spell, and nobody can deny that wine is indeed one of the most infallible means to reach such hilarity, or at any rate this well-boding joy.[192] Precisely, wine was used to "convince"

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[189] Padró, *XIII CNA*, p. 752.

[190] Gauthier, *L.R.*, III, pp. 335 ff. and 382 ff.

[191] Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 88 ff.

[192] On the god Bes and the diffusion of his cult I am at the moment preparing a study in which all these aspects of the god are surveyed. We can recall here as well the numerous ceramic

Hathor to return to Egypt, and Bes is no stranger to this myth; henceforth Hathor, goddess of love, will cherish the use of wine in her mysteries — as we have seen *supra* — and Bes will be one of the divinities commonly associated with the goddess. Therefore, the relation between Bes and wine appears to be enough of a reason by itself to explain the presence of the image of Bes's face "hanging" from the neck of this jar in order to protect its original content — that is, its wine.

Almuñécar, No. 24.21 Vessel (Pl. CXXII)

Material and Colour: High-quality alabaster with cream-coloured, white, and black veins.

Measurements: height 50 cm.

Place of Keeping: Granada Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 8333).

Circumstances of Discovery: This was one of the funerary urns of Tomb 19 (Pls. CXX-CXXI), which was located and excavated by the Pellicer team during their second campaign, in July 1963. This Tomb was of elongated ground-plan, with a ramp and the beginnings of a passage 0.60 m. long, oriented towards north-north-east. The axes were about 1.80 m. and the depth 3.30 m. Inside, up to a height of 1.50 m., was a pile of big blocks of schist hiding the two lateral niches. Niche A, opening towards the S.S.E., was 0.80 m. high by 0.40 m. deep and Niche B, opening towards the S.S.W., was 0.70 wide by 1 m. deep. The niches themselves were closed by big blocks of schist. In Niche A was the present alabaster jar, containing human ashes, and beside it to the west an ostrich egg decorated with very washed-out red paint, like those in Tomb 10. This egg was cut in a circle across an extremity and to one side. It was found in fragments. Inside it were remains of ochre. Niche B contained another alabaster funeral urn, No. 24.22, with human ashes. There were also ashes outside the urn, and beside it were four pottery vessels, two Protocorinthian cotylae, a trefoil-mouthed oenochoe, and a mushroom-mouthed oenochoe. This second alabaster jar was chocked with the rim of an amphora and an iron spike.[193]

Bibliography: Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 30, figs. 29 and 31-1, Pl. V-1-3. Pellicer, *MMitt.*, 4, p. 12, figs. 4-3 and 18-1, Pl. 18. Maluquer, *Zephyrus*, XIV, Pl. II and IV. Fernández-Chicarro, *VIII CNA*, p. 106, Pl. 16. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, pp. 194 f., fig. 55, Pl. 84 A. Culican, *Levant*, 2, pp. 28 f. García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 8 (p. 16). García y Bellido, Schubart, Niemeyer, *L'espansione fenicia*, fig. 21.

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vessels with inscriptions of the face of Bes, which logically are ritual, and that could also be used for containing wine. These vessels are excellent parallelisms to the alabaster jar of Almuñécar. See Ballod, *Prolegomena*, p. 55.

[193] The description of this Tomb has been taken from Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 30 and 38.

Date: From its position in the Cerro de San Cristóbal Necropolis Tomb 19, the furthest from the town of Almuñécar and ancient colony of Sexi, must be the most recent. This is confirmed by the presence in this Tomb of two little Protocorinthian vessels which can be dated to the beginning of the 7th century and are the only Greek pottery found in the deposit and also by the highly evolved form of the present *alabastron* which can be dated to the XXV-XXVIth Dynasties, that is to say, the second half of the 8th century or the 7th century,[194] and are therefore practically contemporary with the cremations of Tomb 19.

Description: Alabaster jar of the form called *alabastron*, ovoid, elongated, with neck of inverted truncated cone shape, horizontal rectangular rim, and two elongated vertical attachments by way of handles. The veins in the alabaster give it a handsome appearance. It has been sawn through horizontally below the middle, no doubt in order to be able to put the ashes inside. The vessel is classified among those of *alabastron* form.[195]

Parallels: On the *alabastron* jars in general, cf. my remarks on No. 24.07. This, found in Tomb 1B at Cerro de San Cristóbal, together with No. 26.01 from Chamber 2 at Trayamar, No. 27.02 from the Jardín Necropolis, that from Tomb No. 9 at La Joya,[196] and that from La Cruz del Negro,[197] are the closest parallels to our vessel in the Peninsula. For its chronological importance I mention also a jar from Tell el-Yahudiya in Egypt, datable to the XXVIth Dynasty.[198] Another similar parallel is a jar recovered at Assur.[199]

Conclusion: Vessel of Egyptian manufacture without any doubt.

Almuñécar, No. 24.22 Vessel (Pl. CXXV)

Material and Colour: White alabaster.

Measurements: height 42 cm.

Place of Keeping: Granada Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 8334).

Circumstances of Discovery: This was the cinerary urn of Niche B of Tomb 19 (Pls. CXXIII-CXXIV), which has already been described together with the furniture of Niche A, in connection with No. 24.21, which came to light with its cremation in this Niche. The furniture of Niche B consisted of the present

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[194] Culican, *Levant*, 2, p. 28.

[195] García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 8 (p. 16).

[196] Garrido, "*La Joya*", p. 46, fig. 35 (p. 49); this jar is of considerably smaller dimensions, measuring only 23 cm. in height.

[197] Fernández Canivell, Schubart y Niemeyer, *Zephyrus*, XVIII, Pl. VII.

[198] Culican, *Levant*, 2, p. 28, n. 6 at the end.

[199] Culican, *Levant*, 2, p. 29.

alabaster jar, with human ashes inside and also outside it close by. Beside the cinerary urn were distributed four pottery vessels: A Protocorinthian cotyle or skyphos subgeometric in style of yellowish cream composition with a slip also yellowish, measuring in height 8.3 cm., diameter of mouth 9 cm., diameter of foot 3.3 cm.; the interior decorated in *vernis noir* with red tints and a horizontal line next to the rim, in resist; the exterior with the same *vernis noir* with red tints covering the lower third of the cup, except for a horizontal line in resist; the central part with parallel horizontal lines, and in the rim zone, between two more parallel horizontal lines, a frieze composed of two groups of parallel vertical segments flanking a central motif of rhombuses with dots in their centres; the bottom is in resist; the handles, free-standing, are decorated with a longitudinal line of *vernis*. Another Protocorinthian cotyle or skyphos, subgeometric in style, of slightly pinkish cream clay, apparently without slip: height 8.2 cm., diameter at mouth 9.5 cm., and diameter of foot 3.4 cm.; the interior decorated with wine-tinted *vernis noir* of bad quality, and the exterior with the same; the upper frieze formed of a border of parallel vertical segments alternating with a series of irregular SSS, enclosed above by two parallel horizontal lines next to the rim and below by the upper line of the design decorating the central part of the cup, formed of several parallel horizontal lines; a lower frieze, next to the foot, of rayed triangles between parallel horizontal lines; the handles, free-standing, with a longitudinal central line in black. A triple-mouthed oenochoe 17 cm. high, of cream composition and chestnut slip with the bottom in resist, tending to a truncated cone shape, with an edging at the shoulders and a split handle. A mushroom-mouthed oenochoe 21 cm. high, of rose-cream composition with red slip, the bottom and outside of the rim in resist. Other articles of Niche B of Tomb 19 are: Several amphora fragments with a small raised rim and vertical handle of rounded section, in dense composition, with schist grits, oxidized by fire, yellowish coloration on the outer surface and orange on the inner greyish edge: one of these fragments was chocking the alabaster urn. A fragment of a wheel-made dish, with reddish and greyish edges, without slip, and other wheel-made composition fragments belonging to globular vessels. An iron spike 5 cm. long, much rusted, also chocking the alabaster urn.[200]

Bibliography: Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 30, figs. 30 and 32-1, Pl. V-2-3. Pellicer, *MMitt.*, 4, p. 12, figs. 4-4 and 19-1. Maluquer, *Zephyrus*, XIV, Pl. I and II. Blázquez,

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[200] The description of the furniture of Niche B of Tomb 19 is taken from Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 30 and 38; the description of the two cotylae is from Trias, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, p. 452.

Tartessos, p. 195, fig. 55, Pl. 84 B. Cintas, *Manuel*, I, p. 435. Maluquer, *Tartessos*, Pl. between pp. 40 and 41. García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 8 (p. 16). García y Bellido, Schubart, Niemeyer, *L'espansione fenicia*, fig. 21.

Date: The chronology of Tomb 19 has already been discussed in connection with No. 24.21. The position of the Tomb in the Necropolis, the two Protocorinthian cotylae, and the jar No. 24.21 itself agree in making this Tomb the most recent of the whole Cerro de San Cristóbal Necropolis, to be dated to the 7th century. The date of manufacture of this jar must be put probably within the 9th-8th centuries, like the jars with hieroglyphic inscriptions; cf. remarks on No. 24.07. In this case, however, we cannot dismiss the possibility of a 7th-century date, similar to that of the jar No. 24.21 found in this same tomb.

Description: Alabaster jar of ovoid form, with slightly projecting neck and two vertical pierced handles. Classified among the jars "of oval shape".[201]

Parallels: This jar is very similar to No. 24.08, from Tomb 2 of Cerro de San Cristóbal, and No. 26.03, from Chamber 3 at Trayamar, and is also somewhat similar to No. 24.15, found in Tomb 13. For further parallels, cf. remarks on No. 24.08.

Conclusion: Vessel of Egyptian manufacture.

Almuñécar, No. 24.23 Vessel (Pls. CXXVIII-CXXIX)

Material and Colour: White alabaster.

Measurements: height 57 cm.

Place of Keeping: Granada Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 8335).

Circumstances of Discovery: This was the cinerary urn of Tomb 20 (Pls. CXXVI-CXXVII), which has already been described with its furniture in connection with the scaraboid No. 24.05. The alabaster jar, covered with a stone, came to light inside an open niche at the bottom of the Tomb and contained human ashes, a copper ring, and the glazed composition scaraboid above-mentioned. Beside the jar were a piriform oenochoe and a mushroom-mouthed oenochoe.

Bibliography: Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, pp. 38, 40 and 52, figs. 33 and 34-1-2, Pl. V-4 and VIII-2-3. Pellicer, *MMitt.*, 4, pp. 12 and 23, figs. 21-1-2, Pl. 11 b and 20. Maluquer, *Zephyrus*, XIV, p. 59. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 33, 2-3, p. 404. Díaz Esteban, *Sefarad*, XXV, 2, p. 284. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, p. 195, Pl. 85 A and B. Leclant, *Role of the Phoenicians*, p. 13. Cintas, *Manuel*, I, p. 436. Maluquer, *Tartessos*, p. 74. Culican, *Levant*, 2, pp. 28 f. Ferron, *TPreh.*, 27, p. 183. García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 8 (p. 16). García y Bellido, Schubart, Niemeyer, *L'espansione fenicia*, fig. 21. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 324, n. 451. Padró, *XIII CNA*, pp. 751 ff. Schubart, *L Aniversario Lab. Arq.*, p. 201.

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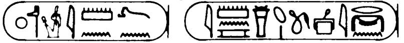
[201] García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 8 (p. 16).

Date: Tomb 20 must be dated from its position inside the Necropolis as one of the latest, probably as late as the beginning of the 7th century. This estimate is confirmed by the presence among the furniture of the two oenochoae with red slip. The alabaster jar bears two cartouches of Osorkon II, who reigned from 874 to 850 B.C., so that it would then be necessary to allow the jar a lifetime above ground of probably rather more than a century and a half.

Description: Alabaster jar, ovoid, with small neck and vertical handles of circular section, one of which had been broken off and lost before the burial. The rim has a semicircular tooled groove. It is classified among the jars of "elongated oval form".[202] On the upper half of the body and equidistant from the handles are two cartouches, very close together, rather badly engraved, vertical, crowned with the double *maât* feather and the sun-disk and placed over the gold sign. In the right-hand cartouche is the *praenomen* Usimare Setepenamun, and in the left-hand one the *nomen* Osorkon Meryamun Si-Bastet, that is to say, Osorkon II, as in the case of the jar No. 24.20, for discussion of which cf. the relevant entry: 

Parallels: This jar resembles those found in Tombs 1A (No. 24.06), 14 (No. 24.16), and 15 A (No. 24.17), all of the Cerro de San Cristóbal necropolis. For other parallels among the jars of "elongated oval shape" cf. remarks on No. 24.06. The cartouches of Osorkon II on the present jar are similar to those on No. 24.20, found in Tomb 17.

Conclusion: Vessel manufactured in Egypt, in the time of Osorkon II, whose cartouches it bears. In connection with the jar found in Tomb 15 A, No. 24.17, I referred to the fact that on two of the jars of this form found at Cerro de San Cristóbal (of the four of this form found altogether) the inscriptions refer to wine, which make it highly probable that the jars "of elongated oval shape" were in fact originally designed to contain wine.

24a.? (GRANADA)

From somewhere not exactly determined in Granada Province there comes a scarab reported to me by my team-mate A. López Malax-Echeverría. It was found recently on the surface of some deposit in this Province, perhaps a coastal trading post, although that is mere supposition. My informant has no further particulars regarding it.[1]

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[202] Garcia y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, 121-122, fig. 8 (p. 16).

[1] The piece is completely unpublished. For the report of its existence and the particulars of it I thank Señor López Malax-Echeverría.

Granada? No. 24.91 Scarab (Pl. CXXXIII)

Material and Colour: According to Señor López Malax-Echeverría,[2] glazed composition of a brilliant green colour. However, the look of the scarab on the photographs to me suggests stone. If I am right, from its colour it would probably be jasper.

Measurements: length 1.4 cm., approximate breadth 1.1 cm. (the scarab is fractured), height 0.9 cm.

Place of Keeping: Alberto López Malax-Echeverría Collection in Malaga.

Circumstances of Discovery: Found on the surface somewhere in Granada Province. This is all we know about the place of its discovery, which must have been of relatively recent date. The information was given me by its present owner in October 1973.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

Date: 4th Century?

Description: The dorsal scheme cannot be made out in the photographs I have. The insect's legs are well indicated on one side, whereas the other is completely missing owing to the piece being broken, so that the lower half of the scene engraved on the reverse is also missing. In it, surrounded by a notched line, is a lion attacking an antelope and at the moment of jumping on to its back. Both animals are galloping to the right.

Parallels: The theme represented on the reverse of this scarab is well attested on jasper scarabs found at Carthage.[3] In the Peninsula I can quote No. 07.07 from Empúries, an example in glazed composition with a similar design.

Conclusion: A piece probably of Western manufacture (Sardinian), and therefore Pseudoegyptian. For the motif on the reverse cf. my remarks on No. 07.07 from Empúries.

25. CORTIJO DE LAS SOMBRAS. FRIGILIANA (MALAGA)

Cortijo de las Sombras is situated at the top of a small hill, el Cerrillo de las Sombras, rising beside the road from Nerja to Frigiliana, 2 km. from this last place and about 5 km. from Nerja and the sea. The owner of the site Mr.

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[2] Letter dated Lingfield (England) 25 June 1974 in which Señor Malax-Echeverría sent me all the information he has on the piece, together with three photographs of it.

[3] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 232 f., Nos. 623-625.

John Wilkins decided in 1965 to build himself a holiday house and lay out the rest as a garden, and in the course of the resulting works there began to appear the urns of this Necropolis with their furniture, which Mr. Wilkins got the workmen to collect. The first burial appeared in April 1966. After a certain time Professor Arribas was informed about the finds, and was still able to group and reconstruct the furniture of each burial according to Mr. Wilkins's oral evidence, and clean one of them superficially.[1] Professor Arribas also obtained particulars of a burial which had been found in the same locality a little earlier by an amateur.

Thus the knowledge we have of the characteristics of the Necropolis is very relative, since the whole of it was excavated in an uncontrolled way and without method of any kind. So far as can be gathered from Mr. Wilkins's explanation, some 15 burials were found in this Necropolis and scattered material in addition. All the burials are of cremations in urns, which contained not only the ashes but also the furniture, though a part of this has occasionally come to light outside the urn. The urns are almost all wheel-made, globular containers or pots, some with handles, and all more or less with lids. They have a painted decoration on the neck and body of thin and thick bands, as well as designs of big circles and spirals and stars. There are also some fragments manufactured by hand and belonging to urns which imitate the wheel-made forms.

The furniture of the burials consists of double-spring fibulas in great abundance, arm-bands, bracelets, finger-rings, belt buckles, tweezers, bronze rods ending in hands or cups, a needle — all these in bronze — pendant ear-rings of bronze and silver, iron fragments hard to identify (weapons generally speaking), a cornelian necklace bead, and a scarab.

Most of the parallels cited for this Necropolis by Arribas, both in respect of its funerary rite and of its furniture, relate it to the North African world, especially the necropolises of Rachgun (Oran) and of Ain Dalhia Kebira (Tangier), also the isle of Motya in Sicily and the Carmona assemblage, with other parallels ranging more or less over the whole West Phoenician and even East Phoenician world.

Arribas does not go so far as to discuss the chronology of the Cortijo de las Sombras Necropolis but confines himself to giving it a high dating. From his descriptions, remarks, and parallels, however, a chronology encompassing the 8th-7th centuries can be gathered.[2] What is in any case clear from Arribas' work is the Phoenician affiliation of the Necropolis both from its furniture and from the evident kinship of this deposit with others in North Africa.

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[1] Arribas y Wilkins, *Pyrenae*, 5, pp. 185 ff.

[2] Arribas y Wilkins, *Pyrenae*, 5, p. 214 in particular. Pellicer, *V SIPP*, p. 304, dates the Necropolis to the middle half of the 7th century.

In the Cortijo de las Sombras Necropolis one scarab has been found.

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A. Arribas y J. Wilkins, *La Necrópolis fenicia del Cortijo de las Sombras (Frigiliana, Málaga)*, in *Pyrenae*, 5, Barcelona, 1969, pp. 185 ff.

Cortijo de las Sombras, No. 25.01 Scarab (Pl. CXXXIII)

Material and Colour: Yellowish glazed composition; the scarab is mounted in a silver finger-ring.

Measurements: length with ring 1.8 cm., breadth 1.2 cm., height 0.8 cm.

Place of Keeping: Wilkins Collection at Cortijo de las Sombras, Frigiliana.

Circumstances of Discovery: Formed part of the furniture of Burial No. 13 of the Necropolis (Pl. CXXXII), which was found on 10 July 1969, behind and to the north-east of the Cortijo (farm-house), some 5 m. north-west of Burial No. 6 and only 1.5 m. from No. 14. The urn was found under a stone, a block of conglomerate which closed it like a lid, 62 cm. long by 40 cm. wide by 16 cm. thick. The mouth of the urn was found 50 cm. below the surface. It contained calcined bones, teeth, and fragments of teeth. In one jaw fragment the tooth was still in place, this being the only jaw recovered in the Necropolis. The most important feature of the case is that it was an infant's jaw, proving, what is fairly exceptional in the Phoenician world, that children here were cremated just like adults. The tomb furniture consists of the following items:

1. Urn 37 cm. high, by 32 cm. maximum width, by 22.5 cm. diameter at mouth; of reddish clay, uniformly fired, the fabric including ground mica and schist. The lip has a flat rim in the shape of a half T. The neck is short and separated from the shoulder by a fine moulding or fillet. Symmetrical twin handles go from the mouth itself to the shoulder. The body is globular and irregular, not completely symmetrical, slightly careened. The diameter of the foot is less than that of the mouth and the bottom is countersunk, with an omphalos. The body of the jar has nine painted hands of blackish wine colour, arranged in groups of three, four, and two on the bare clay. Among these groups of bands two wide areas of much-perished red paint can be discerned. This urn is almost identical with that of Burial No. 3, and both are similar to a form known at Rachgun.[3]

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[3] Arribas y Wilkins, *Pyrenae*, 5, pp. 213 ff. and 234.

2. Bronze double-spring fibula, 2 cm. wide between the springs, with six spiral turns.

3. Bronze double-spring fibula, each of six spiral turns; defective, lacking the bow.

4. Bronze tweezers, with flat blades, 6.5 cm. long by 0.6 cm. wide.

5. Bronze awl, of circular section, 13 cm. long, with a flattened point for sewing at one end and the other thicker, of quadrangular section sharpened to a point.

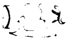
6. Fragment of a piece of iron, certainly from the handle of a knife, dagger, or sword; with four rivets, two isolated and two together; with the original lines marked out though much corroded by oxides; still fastened to one end are remains of wood or bone, making a solid lump with the oxidized hilt; 6 cm. long by 2.5 cm. wide.

7. Fragment of a piece of iron similar to the previous but without rivets; 5.5 cm. long by 2.5 cm. wide.

8. The scarab.[4]

Bibliography: Arribas y Wilkins, *Pyrenae*, 5, pp. 188, 205 (fig. 8), 206 ff., 234, Pl. XII, 2.

Date: The Tomb is probably 7th-century. As for the scarab, we cannot give it an exact date. Apparently the *praenomen* of Amenhotep III is to be read on it, but this merely gives a date *post quem* of the XVIIIth Dynasty, since scarabs with this Pharaoh's name were issued at all periods. But from the chronology of the Tomb we may assume for the scarab too a 7th-century date.

Description: Dorsal scheme of Type IV, with the thorax and elytra drawn, the former with a double line and a V over the latters. The piece is well preserved, although the glazing has come away in the middle of the back. On the reverse, lengthwise, is an androcephalous sphinx reclining and facing right. The sphinx is very schematically drawn and its only characteristic detail is the false beard, indicated by a horizontal stroke emerging from the head. Above and in front of the sphinx, and what is extremely strange, in a vertical position, is the *nb* sign or possibly a very schematized *nwb* sign. Above the sphinx, but behind its head, we see first the sun-disk *Rʿ* and on its left the feather *mꜣʿt*. Behind this and the sphinx is a *uraeus* with outspread wings making the protection sign: . All these signs are engraved in an extremely summary fashion, which makes them very difficult to interpret without a direct view of the original.[5] The first impression given by this bizarre assembly of signs is that we have the *praenomen* of Amenhotep III, *Nb-Mꜣʿt-Rʿ*, the Pharaoh being symbolized here by the androcephalous sphinx, which in its turn is protected by the winged *uraeus*. But the disorder in which the signs are arranged and above all the vertical position of the *nb* sign (or the *nwb* sign which in this case comes to the same thing) are an attention mark to warn us that this is a cryptographic text. In fact, in the work of Drioton on the trigrams of Amun we find on the one hand that the normal position of the *nb* sign may easily be changed in the cryptographic writing,[6] and on the other that the *nb* sign can normally be interchanged with the *nwb* sign in writing of this type.[7] Moreover in this same work we can see examples with a fairly similar arrangement of the signs to that on the Cortijo de las Sombras scarab, No. 25.01. Nos. 8 and 43, for instance, have common elements in the androcephalous sphinx, the winged *uraeus* behind and above it, and a vertical sign in front of the sphinx.[8] Of the various possibilities open to us to explain the inscription on our present scarab (remembering that in cryptographic writing according to Drioton each one of these signs may have several different values at the same time) the most logical reading seems to me the following: the *uraeus* with outspread wings, *ỉ*, by acrophony from *ỉʿrt*, "*uraeus*";[9] the maât feather, *m*, by acrophony from mꜣʿt, "truth";[10] the sphinx, *n*, by acrophony from *nb* "lord";[11] the sun-disk, *Rʿ*, "sun";[12] finally the sign *nb*, or the sign *nwb* for *nb*, "lord";[13] so that according to this interpretation we have the following formula: *ʾImn-Rʿ nb(.ỉ)*, "Amun-Re is my lord".[14] But there is a further point of interest. We note that we have effected the reading of the signs from left to right, whereas the signs are all oriented from right to left (as is normal in Egyptian hieroglyphic writing). So it seems that this scarab must also be regarded as an example of retrograde writing, another of the procedures used by Egyptian scribes in cryptographic writing.

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[4] For the description of the furniture of Burial No. 13 I have followed that given by Arribas y Wilkins, *Pyrenae*, 5, p. 234.

[5] Owing to the difficulty, I suppose, of interpreting the engraving on this scarab, Arribas offers no commentary of any kind upon it.

Parallels: I have already referred in describing this piece to two of the examples quoted by Drioton with a similar arrangement of signs, No. 8 and 43. This author quotes several more examples with the same slogan but with different orthographies.[15] In the Iberian Peninsula I have already mentioned a scarab which probably bears a trigram of Amun, that of El Molar, No. 19.03.

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[6] E.g. Drioton, *WZKM*, 54, p. 21, Nos. 44, 46 and 47.

[7] Drioton, *WZKM*, 54, p. 20.

[8] Drioton, *WZKM*, 54, pp. 17 and 20.

[9] Drioton, *WZKM*, 54, p. 14.

[10] Drioton, *WZKM*, 54, p. 16.

[11] Drioton, *WZKM*, 54, p. 17, No. 8.

[12] Drioton, *WZKM*, 54, p. 19.

[13] Drioton, *WZKM*, 54, p. 20.

[14] Drioton, *WZKM*, 54, p. 25.

[15] Drioton, *WZKM*, 54, pp. 25f.

Conclusion: In connection with the El Molar scarab, No. 19.03, I have already referred to the dangers of carrying to extremes Drioton's theory on the trigrams of Amun. In that case, however, as also in this, it seems the most satisfactory explanation of the inscriptions on both scarabs. In the former case I referred to the impossibility of any other reading. In this we have already seen that the inscription can be rigorously interpreted as the *praenomen* of Amenhotep III, but I have also noted the disorder and strange position of certain signs, a sure token according to Drioton of a cryptographic text.[16] On the other hand it is a proven fact that the names of certain pharaohs can be interpreted as trigrams of Amun,[17] and there is an evident intention in such cases of compounding the power of the Pharaoh's name with the trigram of Amun. Thus it would be no surprise if the inscription on the present scarab were susceptible of a double interpretation. To conclude, let me add that this scarab is, from all the evidence, of Egyptian manufacture.

26. TRAYAMAR. ALGARROBO (MALAGA)

Trayamar is an estate situated on the right bank of the River Algarrobo, very close to its mouth and on rising land at the northern boundary of the water meadows. During the construction of a big dam here in the years 1930-31 a burial chamber was found and partly destroyed. Señor Ramón Fernández Canivell was able to recover the articles found there and kept them in his collection. Some years later he struck up an acquaintance with the team from the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* in Madrid which was excavating at Toscanos. As a consequence Professors Niemeyer, Pellicer, and Schubart had a chance of studying the material in the Fernández Canivell Collection, and later Niemeyer and Schubart were able to re-excavate the Tomb, which they called Trayamar 1, and also to study the tombs Trayamar 2 and 3, also chamber tombs, discovered and destroyed in the autumn of 1965 some 500 metres West-South-West of the first during big earth-moving operations. Later, in November 1967, Niemeyer and Schubart discovered and excavated another chamber, intact this time, which they called Trayamar 4. All these chambers were built of perfectly fashioned ashlars. The settlement corresponding to this Necropolis has been located on the Morro de Mezquitilla, on the other side of the River Algarrobo. The chronology of the Trayamar Necropolis has been placed by its German excavators in the 7th century.[1]

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[16] Drioton, *WZKM*, 54, p. 12.

[17] Drioton, *WZKM*, 54, p. 17. Hari, *CdE*, XLVII, 93-94, p. 143 and n. 1.

In the Trayamar Necropolis have been found three alabaster jars, besides fragments of others dispersed in the hands of several agricultural workers (the attachment of a handle among them) the exact provenance of which is unknown; and also a roundel. On the other hand, a scarab initially cited as coming from Trayamar[2] has turned out to be only a finger-ring with the swivel mount empty, which had been inaccurately described.[3]

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Manuel Pellicer, *Las primeras cerámicas a torno pintadas andaluzas y sus problemas*, in *Tartessos y sus problemas. V Symposium internacional de Prehistoria Peninsular. Jerez de la Frontera, Septiembre 1968*, Publicaciones Eventuales No. 13, Barcelona, 1969, pp. 291 ff.

Hermanfrid Schubart, Hans Georg Niemeyer, *Excavaciones paleopúnicas en la zona de Torre del Mar*, in *Noticiario Arqueológico Hispánico*, XIII-XIV, Madrid, 1969-1970, pp. 353 ff.

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Antonio García y Bellido-Hermanfrid Schubart-Hans Georg Niemeyer, *Espagne*, in *L'espansione fenicia nel Mediterráneo. Relazioni del Colloquio in Roma, 4-5 Maggio 1970*, Publicazioni del Centro di Studio per la Civiltà Fenicia e Punica, 8 (Studi Semitici, 38), Roma, 1971, pp. 145 ff.

H. Schubart, *Las excavaciones de Torre del Mar y el panorama arqueológico de las fundaciones de colonias fenicias en la costa mediterránea de la Península Ibérica*, in *L Aniversario de la Fundación del Laboratorio de Arqueología, 1924-1974*, Papeles del Laboratorio de Arqueología de Valencia, 11, Valencia, 1975, pp. 199 ff.

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[1] Schubart, Niemeyer, *NAH*, XIII-XIV, p. 382. Fernández Canivell, Schubart y Niemeyer, *Zephyrus*, XVIII, p. 77.

[2] Niemeyer / Pellicer / Schubart, *MMitt.*, 5, p. 80. Pellicer, Niemeyer, Schubart, *IX CNA*, p. 246. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, p. 196.

[3] Schubart, Niemeyer, *NAH*, XIII-XIV, Pl. XCVII.

[4] The definitive publication of Trayamar, as Professor H. Schubart has been good enough to inform me, is in the press at the moment of writing, both the German and Spanish versions. The authors of the memoir are Hans Georg Niemeyer and Hermanfrid Schubart.

Trayamar, No. 26.01 Vessel (Pl. CXXXV)

Material and Colour: Alabaster veined with yellow, chestnut, and ochre.

Measurements: height 29.6 cm. without restoration; height 32.3 cm. restored, greatest diameter 15.3 cm.

Place of Keeping: Ramón Fernández Canivell Collection, Malaga.

Circumstances of Discovery: According to the information given by the workmen who destroyed the Tomb, collected by Señor Fernández Canivell, this urn was found right at the bottom of the funerary chamber denoted by its publishers Trayamar 2, beside its west and north walls (Pl. CXXXIV). The urn contained human ashes. The chamber Trayamar 2 came to light at a depth of 1.50 to 2 m. Its height must have been about 2.50 m.; its interior measured 3.80 m. long by 2 m. wide. Its walls were built of rectangular blocks of limestone 20-30 cm. high. The longitudinal walls each had two buttresses. The floor was composed of a double layer of flagstones between which were remains of a mortar filling. The longitudinal axis was oriented in an east-west direction and in the middle of the narrow east side was an entrance 1.10 m. wide. Inside the Tomb, scattered, the workers found a number of bones.[5]

Bibliography: Fernández Canivell, Schubart y Niemeyer, *Zephyrus*, XVIII, pp. 69, 71 f. and 75 f., figs. 4 and 6, Pls. II and III. Niemeyer und Schubart, *MMitt.*, 9, Pl. 30a. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 39, 2, pp. 369 f.

Date: From a comparison with the stratigraphy of Toscanos, Schubart and Niemeyer have dated Tomb 2 of Trayamar to the 7th century.[6] The date of manufacture of the alabaster jar cannot be exactly determined, but must be somewhere in the 9th-8th-7th centuries, like those found at Cerro de San Cristóbal, Almuñécar.

Description: A jar of slender shape, with the broken mouth restored with modern plaster. At the top of its upper half it has two opposing handles, cut straight across inside and rounded outside, with a rectangular plaque laid over below the handles, as if to suggest an insertion. The body of the jar has been put together again from fairly large fragments and partly restored.[7] It can be classified among the jars of *alabastron* form.

Parallels: This jar is very like No. 24.07, found in Cerro de San Cristóbal Tomb 1B, which however was of larger size. It also resembles another jar, from Cruz del Negro, at present in the Bonsor Collection at Mairena del

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[5] Fernández Canivell, Schubart y Niemeyer, *Zephyrus*, XVIII, p. 69.

[6] Fernández Canivell, Schubart y Niemeyer, *Zephyrus*, XVIII, p. 77.

[7] Fernández Canivell, Schubart y Niemeyer, *Zephyrus*, XVIII, p. 71.

Alcor (Seville), of similar dimensions.[8] Other parallels are No. 24.21, found in Tomb 19A of Cerro de San Cristóbal, No. 27.02 from the Jardín Necropolis, and that found in Tomb 9 at La Joya.[9] For more *alabastron* parallels cf. my remarks on No. 24.07.

Conclusion: Vessel of Egyptian manufacture without any doubt.

Trayamar, No. 26.02 Vessel (Pl. CXXXVI)

Material and Colour: Yellowish whitish alabaster.

Measurements: height 24.4 cm. unrestored; height 29.1 cm. restored, greatest diameter 26 cm., diameter of mouth 13 cm.

Place of Keeping: Ramón Fernández Canivell Collection, Malaga.

Circumstances of Discovery: According to the workmen who destroyed the chamber tomb Trayamar 2, this jar was found inside, like the previous one, at the bottom of the chamber and very close to its rear (western) wall but more to the south than the previous one (Pl. CXXXIV). It too contained human ashes. Beside the jar and a little to the east were the few pottery fragments found in the Tomb.[10]

Bibliography: Fernández Canivell, Schubart y Niemeyer, *Zephyrus*, XVIII, pp. 69, 72, and 75 f., figs. 4 and 7, Pl. IV and V. Niemeyer und Schubart, *MMitt.*, 9, Pl. 30 b. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 39, 2, pp. 369 f.

Date: The chamber Trayamar 2 with its burials has been dated by Schubart and Niemeyer to the 7th century, by comparison with the levels of Toscanos.[11] The date of the manufacture of the jar would be somewhere in the 9th-7th centuries, as was the case with the jars from Cerro de San Cristóbal, Almuñécar.

Description: A jar of spherical shape, lacking the base. The body of the jar has been put together again from fairly large fragments and restored, its original profile being intact.[12] It has two opposing handles, vertical, of semicircular section above the middle of the body. We can classify it among the jars of "oval shape", but provisionally speaking, since it seems to be an evolution or a variant of that type with a globular tendency.

Parallels: This vessel has no exact parallels in the Peninsula. Schubart and Niemeyer try to relate it to the jar found in Tomb 17 of the Cerro de San

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[8] Fernández Canivell, Schubart y Niemeyer, *Zephyrus*, XVIII, pp. 75 f., Pl. VII.

[9] Garrido, "*La Joya*", p. 46, fig. 35 (p. 49).

[10] Fernández Canivell, Schubart y Niemeyer, *Zephyrus*, XVIII, p. 69.

[11] Fernández Canivell, Schubart y Niemeyer, *Zephyrus*, XVIII, p. 77.

[12] Fernández Canivell, Schubart y Niemeyer, *Zephyrus*, XVIII, p. 72.

Cristóbal Necropolis,[13] my No. 24.20, but in my opinion its closest parallel, despite some important differences in the form of the neck and handles, is No. 24.15 from Tomb 13 of the same Necropolis, since both jars are of globular form, one oval, the other spherical. The measurements of both are substantially the same. For other parallels among globular jars cf. my remarks on No. 24.15.

Conclusion: Vessel of Egyptian manufacture in all probability.

Trayamar, No. 26.03 Vessel (Pls. CXXXVII and CXXXVIII)

Material and Colour: Yellowish white alabaster with horizontal veining.

Measurements: height 35.8 cm., greatest diameter 24.9 cm.

Place of Keeping: Malaga Archaeological Museum (previously in the Emeterio Rojo Collection at Torre del Mar).

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in very ill-defined circumstances. According to the statements of Señores Fernández Canivell and E. Rojo, it came to light in a chamber tomb distinct from those in which the other alabaster jars from Trayamar were found,[14] possibly in Trayamar 3, a chamber which was totally destroyed by the workmen and of which we have nothing but vague descriptions from them. It too was doing duty as a cinerary urn and like the others contained human ashes.[15]

Bibliography: Fernández Canivell, Schubart y Niemeyer, *Zephyrus*, XVIII, pp. 69 f. and 74 f., fig. 11, Pl. VI. Niemeyer und Schubart, *MMitt.*, 9, p. 101. Schubart, Niemeyer, *NAH*, XIII-XIV, p. 377, n. 33. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 39, 2, pp. 369 f.

Date: Schubart and Niemeyer are inclined to date the Tomb Trayamar 3, to which this jar probably belonged, to the 7th century, like Trayamar 2.[16] The date of manufacture must range from the 9th to 7th centuries, like those from Cerro de San Cristóbal, Almuñécar, but we cannot be more precise than that.

Description: Paunchy jar, lacking the rim and almost the whole upper part which have been recently restored. In its upper third it has two opposing handles, round, in the form of a ring, of flat section inside and rounded on the outside, with a small rectangular surface below the handle suggesting an insertion.[17] It belongs to the type of "oval shape".

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[13] Fernández Canivell, Schubart y Niemeyer, *Zephyrus*, XVIII, p. 76.

[14] Fernández Canivell, Schubart y Niemeyer, *Zephyrus*, XVIII, p. 69 and n. 5.

[15] Fernández Canivell, Schubart y Niemeyer, *Zephyrus*, XVIII, p. 70.

[16] Fernández Canivell, Schubart y Niemeyer, *Zephyrus*, XVIII, p. 77.

[17] Fernández Canivell, Schubart y Niemeyer, *Zephyrus*, XVIII, p. 74.

Parallels: This jar is similar even in its dimensions to those found in Tombs 2 and 19 B at Cerro de San Cristóbal,[18] Nos. 24.08 and 24.22 respectively. For further parallels of "oval shape", cf. my remarks on No. 24.08.

Conclusion: Vessel manufactured in Egypt, undoubtedly.

Trayamar, No. 26.04 Trinket (Pl. CXXXVIII)

Material and Colour: Gold.

Measurements: diameter 2.5 cm., height with suspension 3 cm., thickness at rim 0.1 cm.

Place of Keeping: Malaga Archaeological Museum.

Circumstances of Discovery: Formed part of a necklace of gold elements, of which 15 in all have been preserved. These pieces, like the bones of the burial with which they were found together, were lying in confusion, showing that the Tomb had already been robbed in antiquity. This burial was found in the north-west corner of the chamber Trayamar 4, a chamber which was discovered intact and excavated at the end of 1967 by the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* of Madrid. This Chamber, like the others at Trayamar, had interior measurements of 3.90 m. long by 2.90 wide and a door 1 m. wide on its east side, somewhat to north of centre. Over the floor of the Chamber was a level of different cremations and furniture, with constructional elements probably fallen from the roof, and over these there were two or three burials of corpses in a very bad state of preservation. At this horizon there came to light, partly dispersed, but especially in a group round the skeleton of the north-west corner, the necklace elements and among them the present roundel.[19] Other finds in this Chamber were an ivory plaquette, Phoenician amphoras, an abundance of Palaeo-Phoenician red ware, and a big double-spring fibula.

Bibliography: Niemeyer und Schubart, *MMitt.*, 9, p. 103. Pellicer, *V SIPP*, p. 303. Schubart, Niemeyer, *NAH*, XIII-XIV, p. 381, Pl. CIII and CVI. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 39, 2, p. 370. García y Bellido, Schubart, Niemeyer, *L'Espansione fenicia*, p. 158.

Date: Schubart and Niemeyer date the burials of Trayamar 4 to the 7th century, perhaps its second half.[20] And this must be the date of the trinket.

Description: A solid disk of gold with a suspension ring in its upper part formed of a fine gold wire and two circles of little gold balls. On its obverse is an Egyptianizing design executed in relief by a granulation technique. In the lower part of the design is a hill or *baitylos* on the slopes of which two *uraei* rear up, facing outward. On their heads are perched two falcons, both displaying divine standards and facing inward. Between the two and over the hill is the typically Semitic crescent moon and above it the winged sun-disk. Above each of its wings is an undulating line, perhaps a snake. The disk has a raised rim, and next to it on the inside is a circumference of granular dots surrounding the picture, with four little triangles filling empty spaces in the whole design. The back of the piece is plain.[21]

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[18] Fernández Canivell, Schubart y Niemeyer, *Zephyrus*, XVIII, p. 75.

[19] Schubart, Niemeyer, *NAH*, XIII-XIV, pp. 380 f.

[20] Schubart, Niemeyer, *NAH*, XIII-XIV, p. 382.

Parallels: This type of disk is well attested in the Near East outside Egypt[22] and in the Carthaginian world.[23] Similarly, from the West Punic or West Phoenician world we know of three roundels from Ibiza[24] and another supposed to have been found at Malaga, my No. 29.02, although the designs on them are different from that on the Trayamar piece. The Semitic character of the present disk is demonstrated by the typical crescent displayed in the middle.

Conclusion: This is an Egyptianizing trinket without any doubt. In agreement with the opinion of Poulsen and Blanco, we must probably regard trinkets of this type as of East Phoenician origin, on which cf. my remarks on No. 29.02. The symbols must be those of Astarte — the Punic Tanit —, cosmic goddess of fertility.

27. EL JARDÍN, TORRE DEL MAR (MALAGA)

On the estate of this name belonging to Señor Joaquín Parra, situated some 500 m. from Toscanos, in 1967, in the course of earth-moving operations for purposes of agriculture, a big necropolis was discovered quite by chance. The excavators destroyed a great part of it, and the Malaga O.J.E. (*Organización Juvenil Española*) group was able to see some 30 or 40 sarcophaguses, very few of which could be rescued. In one small sector remains of cremations and pottery jars were noted. Two trial cuts made a little later led to the discovery of tombs built with ashlars, which Schubart and Niemeyer believe can be dated to the 6th century probably. The Malaga O.J.E. group, however, dates the Necropolis as a whole to the 8th-6th centuries. I observe that some of the jars in fact have clear parallels at Cortijo de las Sombras and Rachgun, which confirms this date. The systematic excavation of the Necropolis was undertaken in 1971 by the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.*

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[21] I am indebted for all my information on this piece to Professor H. Schubart. Its publication up till now has been purely provisional, and the definitive publication, with all the data, is in the press.

[22] Cintas, *Amulettes*, pp. 91 ff.

[23] Cintas, *Amulettes*, pp. 76 ff. Vives, *Arqueología cartaginesa*, pp. 39 f.

[24] Vives, *Arqueología cartaginesa*, p. 40, Pl. IX, 22. Almagro-Gorbea (Mª J.), Fortuny, *XI CNA*, pp. 463 ff. Almagro-Gorbea (Mª J.), Fortuny, *NAH*, XIII y XIV, pp. 7 ff.

In the Jardín Necropolis have been found a scarab mounted in a silver ring and an alabaster vessel. Also reported is the silver hoop of a finger-ring, on which perhaps another scarab was mounted.[1]

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Hans Georg Niemeyer und Hermanfrid Schubart, *Toscanos und Trayamar. Vorbericht über die Grabungskampagne 1967*, in *Madrider Mitteilungen*, 9, Heidelberg, 1968, pp. 76 ff.

Hermanfrid Schubart, Hans Georg Niemeyer, *Excavaciones paleopúnicas en la zona de Torre del Mar*, in *Noticiario Arqueológico Hispánico*, XIII-XIV, Madrid, 1969-1970, pp. 353 ff.

Alberto López Malax-Echeverría, *La necrópolis púnica "Parra" (Torre del Mar)*, I, in *Malaka*, 2 (especial), Málaga, 1969, pp. 1 ff.

Jean Leclant, *Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1968-1969*, en *Orientalia*, 39, 2, Roma, 1970, pp. 320 ff.

Gerta Lindemann, Hans Georg Niemeyer und Hermanfrid Schubart, *Toscanos, Jardín und Alarcón. Vorbericht über die Grabungskampagne 1971*, in *Madrider Mitteilungen*, 13, Heidelberg, 1972, pp. 125 ff.

H. Schubart, H. G. Niemeyer y G. Lindemann, *Toscanos, Jardín y Alarcón. Excavaciones de 1971*, in *Noticiario Arqueológico Hispánico. Arqueología*, 1, Madrid, 1972, pp. 9 ff.

Alberto López Malax-Echeverría, *La necrópolis púnica "El Jardín" -I-*, in *Malaka*, 6, Málaga, 1971-1973, pp. 29 ff.

Alberto López Malax-Echeverría, *La necrópolis púnica "El Jardín", Torre del Mar (Málaga)*, in *XIII Congreso Nacional de Arqueología, Huelva, 1973*, Zaragoza, 1975, pp. 795 ff.

Gerta Maass-Lindemann und Hermanfrid Schubart, *Jardín. Vorbericht über die Grabung 1974 in der Nekropole des 6./5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, in *Madrider Mitteilungen*, 16, Heidelberg, 1975, pp. 179 ff., Pl. 9-18.

Ingrid Gamer-Wallert, *Der Skarabäus des Pedubaste von der Finca del Jardín*, in *Madrider Mitteilungen*, 16, Heidelberg, 1975, pp. 187 ff., Pl. 19-20.

El Jardín, No. 27.01 Scarab (Pl. CXXXIX)

Material and Colour: Bluish grey composition. Mounted in a silver ring.

Measurements: length 1.2 cm., breadth 0.8 cm., height 0.6 cm., greatest diameter of ring 2.9 cm.

Place of Keeping: Malaga Archaeological Museum.

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in 1974 in the Jardín Necropolis in the course of excavations carried out in that deposit by the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.*[2] The ring with the scarab came to light in Tomb 30 (Pls.

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[1] López Malax-Echeverría, *Malaka*, 2 (esp.), p. 4, fig. 3-4. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 39, 2, p. 370.

[2] For knowledge of the discovery of this scarab I am indebted to Señor Joaquín Lizana and Dr. Mª Eugenia Aubet. I must also thank Dr. Hermanfrid Schubart for all the information he has given me about it.

CXXXIX-CXL), a grave situated in the north-west sector of the excavation, accompanied by the following furniture:

The spiral of a bronze fibula.

A fragment of the rim of a salver of orange-grey ware, with an admixture of schist grits, sand, and a lot of fine mica.

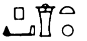
A rim fragment of a dish of the same type of fabric and colour as the salver.

A base fragment of a dish of grey ware, of the same type of fabric as the previous ones.

The scarab, mounted in a silver finger-ring.[3]

Bibliography: Maass-Lindemann und Schubart, *MMitt.*, 16, p. 183. Gamer-Wallert, *MMitt.*, 16, pp. 187 ff., Pl. 19.

Date: The contents of Tomb 30 cannot be dated exactly, but the whole assemblage of these burials seems placeable in the 6th-5th centuries. By and large, this chronology agrees with that of the scarab, manufactured in Naucratis and in consequence probably to be dated to the 6th century.

Description: Scarab of "special technique". Its dorsal scheme is of Type IVa, with thorax and elytra marked by a single line. The beetle's legs are marked very schematically. On the reverse is a hieroglyphic inscription written vertically with the proper name  *P(ꜣ)-di͗-Bꜣstt* — Petubastis. Gamer-Wallert, after rejecting the idea that the Petubastis here referred to was the founder of the XXIIIrd Dynasty because of his remote date (818-793) proposes instead Petubastis II, an obscure contemporary of the Assyrian King Esarhaddon who must have reigned about 670 B.C., or better still Petubastis III, another obscure personage who about 522-520 B.C. rebelled without much success against the Persians.[4] For my part, though I agree with Gamer-Wallert and with Vercoutter himself about the difficulty of identifying the name on this scarab with Petubastis I, founder of the XXIIIrd Dynasty,[5] because of the remoteness of his date, some 200 years before the date of manufacture of this and similar scarabs, and the seeming irrelevance of such a pharaoh to the abundance of Petubastis scarabs appearing in the Saite Period, none the less it seems to me much more difficult to accept the solutions proposed by Gamer-Wallert. The Petubastis scarabs are too abundant, I must insist, to be attributed to two such unknowns as Petubastis II or III, with the further point that the latter choice comes up against insoluble historical and chronological difficulties. The Jardín scarab in fact was manufactured in all probability at Naucratis, as Gamer-Wallert herself recognizes,[6] and in the Scarab Centre in this city scarabs with the name Petubastis have been recovered.[7] Although Gamer-Wallert makes an opposite claim, there is absolutely no evidence that the Naucratis Scarab Centre continued to produce amulets up to the moment of the Persian conquest,[8] but we can be sure in any case that Petubastis III did not set it to work for his own benefit — producing scarabs in his name for export around the Mediterranean — immediately after the establishment of the Persians in Egypt in 525 B.C.[9] In fact, the Petubastis scarabs from Naucratis probably date, like others from the same centre, to the end of the 7th and the first half of the 6th centuries, and consequently cannot be explained either by Petubastis II or by Petubastis III. So I can see no alternative to accepting the hypothesis that the name of the XXIIIrd Dynasty's founder was revived, as Vercoutter claims, probably for reasons to do with the occurrence of the goddess Bastet in the name,[10] unless like Petrie[11] we prefer to regard it as the name of a private person, just like the scarabs under the name Petosiris, or an unknown name or title of some Saite king.

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[3] Gamer-Wallert, *MMitt.*, 16, p. 187, figs. 1 and 2.

[4] Gamer-Wallert, *MMitt.*, 16, pp. 188 ff., and especially pp. 193 f. On these personages cf. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 98, 137, and 458.

[5] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 53 f.

Parallels: I have already mentioned the presence at Naucratis of scarabs of special technique bearing the name Petubastis. Scarabs with this name are moreover frequent elsewhere in Egypt.[12] In the Carthaginian tombs too some of them have appeared, some too in the special technique.[13] In the Iberian

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[6] Gamer-Wallert, *MMitt.*, 16, p. 193.

[7] Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, Pl. XXXVII, 117-118. Gardner, *Naukratis*, II, Pl. XVIII, 70.

[8] On the contrary, the production of scarabs seems to have been centred especially on the first half of the 6th — and end of the 7th — century to judge by the names of the kings inscribed on them.

[9] With the conquest of Egypt by the Persians all commercial relations with foreign countries were broken off. Very significant, for instance, was the cessation of imports of Greek pottery in the fourth quarter of the 6th century at Naucratis and in the rest of Egypt. Cf. Boardman, *Greeks Overseas*, p. 139; Beazley and Payne, *JHS*, 49, pp. 252 ff.

[10] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 54.

[11] Petrie, *Scarabs*, Pl. LVII, No. 30, L, M.

[12] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 53 f.

[13] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 78, 103 f. (Nos. 36-39) and 166 (Nos. 287-289), these last manufactured at Naucratis. In identifying this name with Petubastis III Gamer-Wallert, *MMitt.*, 16, pp. 193 f., bases herself on the low dating (5th century) provisionally assigned by Vercoutter to Scarabs Nos. 36-39. But she fails to take into account either the suspicions expressed by this author on p. 255, n. 1, tending to raise his dating, or the observations and explanations of Cintas, *Manuel*, I, p. 446, tending to show that the two tombs in which the four scarabs came to light must be dated to the 8th century. I must also point out that Cintas, *Manuel*, I, pp. 446 f., thinks that scarabs Nos. 287-289 could equally well be older, though in this case according to the same author it is just a possibility. But in fact it is not possible at all since, as we have seen, they are products of Naucratis, similar to the scarab from El Jardín.

Peninsula, on the other hand, we only know one other scarab with the name Petubastis, found in the Necropolis of Monte de A-do-Mealha-Nova, in Ourique (Baixo-Alentejo), also a scarab mounted in a metal finger-ring.[14]

Conclusion: Egyptian scarab, manufactured at Naucratis, datable to the 6th century, with the name Petubastis engraved on the reverse.

El Jardín, No. 27.02 Vessel (Pl. CXL)

Material and Colour: White alabaster.

Measurements: height 18 cm., diameter of mouth 2.5 cm., greatest diameter 7 cm.

Place of Keeping: Malaga Archaeological Museum.

Circumstances of Discovery: Found and collected by the Malaga O.J.E. group in the course of the works which destroyed the Jardín Necropolis. Must have formed part of the grave-goods of one of its burials, but there is no saying exactly which.

Bibliography: López Malax-Echeverría, *Malaka*, 2 (esp.), p. 4, fig. 3-3. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 39, 2, p. 370. López Malax-Echeverría, *Malaka*, 6, p. 34, fig. 12. López Malax-Echeverría, *XIII CNA*, p. 797, fig. 5 (p. 805).

Date: The contents of the Necropolis can be dated to the 8th-6th centuries. The date of manufacture of the jar may possibly go back to the 9th-7th centuries, as with the similar ones from Cerro de San Cristóbal.

Description: Jar of slender form, with a small strangulated neck, a narrow mouth and a small lip. Opposite one another in the upper half of the body two nipples do duty as handles. The body is plain, without decoration, and the surface is somewhat impaired, perhaps by fire. It can be classified among the *alabastron* jars.

Parallels: This jar resembles those found in Tombs 1B and 19A of Cerro de San Cristóbal, Nos. 24.07 and 24.21 of the present catalogue. Also it resembles No. 26.01 found in Chamber 2 of Trayamar, a jar from Cruz del Negro, at present in the Bonsor Collection at Mairena del Alcor (Seville),[15] and another from Tomb 9 of La Joya.[16] But I must point out that the Jardín example is decidedly smaller than its parallels cited here, except for the last. On other parallels for *alabastron* jars, cf. my remarks on No. 24.07.

Conclusion: Vessel certainly of Egyptian manufacture.

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[14] Dias, Beirão e Coelho, *Arqueólogo Português*, III, IV, pp. 181 f. and 200. Gamer-Wallert, *MMitt.*, 16, pp. 192 and 194, Pl. 20.

[15] Fernández Canivell, Schubart y Niemeyer, *Zephyrus*, XVIII, Pl. VII.

[16] Garrido, "*La Joya*", p. 46, fig. 35 (p. 49).

28. MAINAKE (?), CORTIJO DE LOS TOSCANOS. TORRE DEL MAR (MALAGA)

The area of Vélez-Málaga has been known archaeologically for some time from the work done there by Schulten in search of the Greek colony of *Mainake*, which this author thought he could locate on the hill of Toscanos.[1] After a survey by Niemeyer in March 1961 of this site, the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* of Madrid began a systematic series of operations which are still at present in progress and which have proved the existence there of an ancient Phoenicio-Punic trading-post.

Toscanos is a flattened summit situated on the right bank of the River Vélez near its mouth. The river itself is an important road of access to the interior. The site must have had easy disembarking points in antiquity and this would have been reason enough for the early establishment of the Phoenician colonists there. The trading-post must have beer founded at the latest by the middle of the 8th century and must have been of great importance from the beginning.[2] It is possible that the site went on being inhabited into Roman times but the buildings of that period probably swept away the intermediate levels of occupation up to the 6th century.

In Toscanos have been found seven fragments of alabaster jars, of which only two have enough shape to be studied on their own. Of the other five it is not even known if they belong to the same jars or not.

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[1] See the summary of Schulten's theories in Schubart, Niemeyer y Pellicer, *Toscanos*, pp. 8f.

[2] Schubart, Niemeyer y Pellicer, *Toscanos*, pp. 145ff.

Cortijo de los Toscanos, No. 28.01 Vessel (Pl. CXL)

Material and Colour: Veined alabaster.

Measurements: height of the part now preserved 7.8 cm., approximate diameter 19 cm.

Place of Keeping: Malaga Archaeological Museum.

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in the course of the excavation campaign conducted in 1964 by the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* of Madrid. This and another smaller alabaster jar fragment came to light in surface levels which had been turned over. The owner of the land told the excavators that in making cultivation terraces earth had been taken from the slopes of the neighbouring Cerro del Peñón, and a tomb with alabaster urns from a necropolis which probably existed at that spot might thus have been destroyed, so that this would be the source of the fragments found at Toscanos, in agreement with the hypothesis first put forward by the excavators.[3] But the subsequent discovery of five more alabaster jar fragments, clearly located *in situ*, proves that the first two also could probably have come from Cortijo de los Toscanos itself.

Bibliography: Schubart, Niemeyer y Pellicer, *Toscanos*, p. 144, fig. 8 (p. 143). Niemeyer und Schubart, *Toscanos*, p. 120, fig. 8 (p. 119).

Date: The date of manufacture of this piece must be during the 9th-8th centuries, as with the inscribed jars of Cerro de San Cristóbal. The piece, however, has no archaeological context and thus no date given by one.

Description: Only the rim, projecting, and the beginning of the body of this piece have been preserved.

Parallels: The excavators cite as parallel to this fragment the jar found in Tomb 17 of Cerro de San Cristóbal, inscribed with the cartouches of Osorkon II.

Conclusion: Jar of Egyptian manufacture.

Cortijo de los Toscanos, No. 28.02 Vessel (Pl. CXL)

Material and Colour: Alabaster.

Measurements: greatest height preserved 6.45 cm., greatest diameter (restored) 9.75 cm.

Place of Keeping: Malaga Archaeological Museum.

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in the course of the excavation campaign conducted in 1971 by the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*. The piece appeared in Cut 15, made in a cutting of the former Málaga to Vélez-Málaga railway. Cut 15 revealed a habitation area. I record also that four other unassignable fragments of alabaster jars came to light in this same campaign.[4]

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[3] Schubart, Niemeyer y Pellicer, *Toscanos*, p. 144.

Bibliography: Lindemann, Niemeyer und Schubart, *MMitt.*, 13, p. 143, fig. 9,a. Schubart, Niemeyer y Lindemann, *NAH. Arq.*, 1, p. 27, fig. 9,a.

Date: The imported pieces found in the 1971 campaign, which included fragments of imported Greek ware from Cut 15, belong to the 7th century, which was the most flourishing period for the Toscanos trading-post.[5] Probably this would also be the date of manufacture of the alabaster jar, which could also go back to the 9th or 8th century.

Description: Rim fragment of an alabaster jar, of globular form to judge from the profile preserved, provided with small nipples at the top of the upper part.

Parallels: The jar apparently resembles that found in Tomb 13 of Cerro de San Cristóbal, No. 24.15, though it lacks its small vertical gullet.

Conclusion: Certainly an Egyptian vessel. The little that has been preserved of it makes it difficult to give it an exact date or indicate definite parallels.

29. MÁLAGA

Even today there is very little that can be said with any assurance about pre-Roman Malaga. Though we may be quite sure of the existence of Roman Malaga, from the abundance of scattered archaeological finds made by chance, among which the theatre is particularly worthy of mention, yet the existence of a pre-Roman Malaga, located probably in the Gibralfaro neighbourhood, can only be presumed. This is due to the profound transformation of the locality in Roman, medieval, and modern times, the absence of systematic archaeological work, and the uncertainty surrounding most of the reports of archaeological finds.

One of these doubtful reports concerns one of the pieces we shall now be considering. It is a gold roundel with an Egyptianizing design on one of its faces, which was supposed to have been found at Malaga and taken to Madrid, where it was acquired by Señor Vives y Escudero with this indication of provenance. Pierre Paris was the first to publish it, saying that it had been found at Malaga, without giving further details,[1] but this provenance was immediately disputed by Rodríguez de Berlanga, a resident of that city well acquainted with its antiquities and false antiquities. He argued that it was impossible for the trinket to have been found in Malaga without the news becoming known and that it was improbable that it should have been so stealthily taken to Madrid and sold. Rodríguez de Berlanga argued also that no person of credit could testify to the provenance of the piece and added that, on the contrary, it was a frequent practice among antique dealers to invent a Malaga provenance for particular archaeological pieces in order to increase their attraction for the buyer. Rodríguez de Berlanga illustrated the false reports of this type with two Egyptianizing pieces, an Egyptian amulet which the sponsor had brought from Alexandria and which was sold as a find from the slopes of Gibralfaro and a small metal Bes, acquired at a coastal point near to Adra, which emerged on the market as having been discovered in building operations in the centre of Malaga.[2] Pierre Paris, in dealing with our roundel shortly after, accepted the arguments of Rodríguez de Berlanga in a footnote, though attaching little importance to the exact place of discovery, since both authors seemed to agree in any case that the trinket probably came from Andalusia.[3] Nevertheless Vives, the owner of the piece, when he in his turn published it, gave its provenance as Malaga,[4] and this has been accepted without much further discussion by the authors who have successively concerned themselves with it.

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[4] Lindemann, Niemeyer und Schubart, *MMitt.*, 13, p. 143, Schubart, Niemeyer y Lindemann, *NAH.Arq.*, 1, p. 27.

[5] Lindemann, Niemeyer und Schubart, *MMitt.*, 13, p. 143. Schubart, Niemeyer y Lindemann, *NAH.Arq.*, 1, pp. 26f.

For my part I can only call attention once more to the doubtful origins of this roundel. Unfortunately it is quite impossible to offer any other solution, any more than it was for Rodríguez de Berlanga. So I have no alternative but to keep the name Malaga at the head of this chapter for want of anything better.

There is also a scarab recorded as coming from Malaga, the first to have been found in the Peninsula. The record is due to the same Rodríguez de Berlanga.[5]

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[1] Paris, *Mélanges Perrot*, p. 255.

[2] Rodríguez de Berlanga, *Bull. Hisp.*, V, pp. 228 ff.

[3] Paris, *L'Art et l'Industrie*, I, p. 98, n. 1.

[4] Vives, *Arqueología cartaginesa*, pp. 18 f.

[5] Leclant, *Orientalia*, 44, 2, p. 244, has just published the news of the discovery in Malaga of two Egyptianizing architectural fragments. They turned up in the Roman theatre sector, in the course of excavations conducted in the summer of 1974 by the *Seminario de Investigaciones Arqueológicas "Malaka"*. According to the information given to Professor Leclant by J. M. Muñoz Gambero they are materials re-used in the construction of the theatre, coming from some Phoenician building in Malaga. If these finds are confirmed, they would constitute important evidence for the existence of a pre-Roman Malaga from which the two pieces of Egyptian type here considered would have come.

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Málaga, No. 29.01 Scarab (Pl. CXL)

Material and Colour: Cornelian.

Measurements: length 1.7 cm., breadth 1.2 cm.

Place of Keeping: In 1891 was in the Eduardo J. Navarro Collection, Malaga. Its present whereabouts are unknown.

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in Malaga at the end of the nineteenth century (between 1875 and 1891), but neither the date nor the exact find-spot nor the circumstances could be ascertained.

Bibliography: Rodríguez de Berlanga, *El nuevo bronce*, pp. 332 f., Pl. IIII, 6-7. García y Bellido, *Sefarad*, II, 2, p. 287. Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*, p. 3. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 42, 3, p. 439, n. 18.

Date: The date of manufacture of this scarab was probably the 4th century. Nothing can be said about its archaeological context.

Description: The description I give here is based on the drawings by Rodríguez de Berlanga and also on the description given by Erman at the request of Hübner and published by Rodríguez de Berlanga. The dorsal scheme, according to the drawing, corresponds to Newberry and Vercoutter's Type IV. It is longitudinally pierced. On the reverse are three signs in vertical array and surrounded by a notched line. The top sign has been described as a diadem of divinity with horns and two *uraei* with suns over their heads. Probably this meant the crown *atef* flanked by the two *uraei*. In the middle sign was the sun inside a hill, flanked by two *uraei*, perhaps the symbol of Astarte or Tanit. The bottom sign was undoubtedly the gold sign, *nwb*.

Parallels: The arrangement of the signs recalls a scarab from Carthage, dated to the 4th-3rd centuries.[6] On the other hand the motif of the hill with the two *uraei* must be considered in relation with the roundel found at Trayamar, my No. 26.04.

Conclusion: Pseudoegyptian scarab probably of Western manufacture.

Málaga (?), No. 29.02 Trinket (Pl. CXLI)

Material and Colour: Gold.

Measurements: diameter 1.8 cm.

Place of Keeping: Lost.

Circumstances of Discovery: Unknown. Taken to Madrid, the piece was there acquired by Vives, who was told it came from Malaga. Doubts were cast on this provenance, however, by Rodríguez de Berlanga, whose reasons were acknowledged as valid by P. Paris, the first publisher of the piece, though he had previously accepted its Malaga origin. Later Vives published the piece in his turn, once more as coming from Malaga, and his opinion has been accepted by successive writers on the pieces. On all this and the well-founded reasons for doubting its Malaga origin, see the introduction to the present chapter.

Bibliography: Paris, *Mél. Perrot*, pp. 255 ff. Rodríguez de Berlanga, *Bull. Hisp.*, V, pp. 228 ff. Paris, *L'Art et l'Industrie*, I, pp. 97 ff. Poulsen, *Der Orient*, pp. 59 f. Vives, *Arqueología cartaginesa*, pp. 18 f., Pl. VIII, 1. Pijoan, *Summa Artis*, VI, pp. 385 ff. Blanco Freijeiro, *AEArq.*, XXIX, pp. 47 f. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, pp. 144 ff., Pl. 54 A-B.

Date: Trinkets of this type have a 7th-century date, preferably its second half.[7]

Description: Gold roundel composed of two very fine repoussée plates, joined in the middle by a hoop with a handle in the form of a reel in its upper part. On one of the faces are two goats or antelopes leaning against a sacred tree, with their heads turned backwards. The tree and the two animals are placed upon a big palmette which occupies the lower part of the design. On the other face is a pharaoh overwhelming his enemies. The king, clothed in the classical kilt and with naked torso, is shown in a marching posture, towards the left, with the right leg well advanced. His right hand holds an elongated weapon with which he leans on the head of an enemy fallen in front of him, while his left arm, raised, brandishes a weapon with which he is about to strike the defeated enemy. According to Poulsen and as noticed also by Blanco Freijeiro, the pharaoh's hair ends on his nape in a curl characteristic of Syrian art works. At the king's shoulder is a prisoner with his hands tied and under his feet another prisoner prostrate. The repoussée work of this face is of poor quality, and this, combined with the fact that I have not been able to see the original and have no good photographs or drawings, prevents an appreciation of other details of the design, which are rather confused. I therefore hesitate, in common with Blanco Freijeiro, to accept the interpretation of them given by Paris.[8] We can, however, recognize in the king or pharaoh a representation of the semitic god Baal.

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[6] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 250, No. 699.

[7] This is the opinion of Blanco Freijeiro, *AEArq.*, XXIX, p. 48, and following him Blázquez, *Tartessos*, p. 145. Both authors base themselves on the stylistic parallels adduced by Poulsen, *Der Orient*, pp. 59 f. This chronological conclusion is confirmed archaeologically by the find of a gold roundel, my No. 26.04, of similar characteristics, in the chamber tomb Trayamar 4, dated to the second half of the 7th century.

Parallels: Roundels of this type are well known in the non-Egyptian Near East,[9] as also in the Carthaginian Punic world.[10] Three pieces are known from Ibiza[11] and another from Trayamar, my No. 26.04, although the theme there represented is different. The theme of the two animals leaning against a sacred tree is clearly Phoenician, despite Paris's attempt to make it Mycenean.[12] More interesting to me is the representation of the Pharaoh overwhelming his enemies, a classical theme of Egyptian iconography from protodynastic times,[13] so that it is unnecessary to dwell further on it. I do however recall here the extra-Egyptian parallels cited by Poulsen, such as certain Syrian gems in the *Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris* and above all the Praeneste silver bowl and another from Salerno,[14] dated to the 7th century.[15]

Conclusion: Egyptianizing piece, in the opinion of Poulsen and Blanco of Syrian manufacture, that is of East Phoenician origin.

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[8] Blanco Freijeiro, *AEArq.*, XXIX, p. 47.

[9] Cintas, *Amulettes*, pp. 91 ff.

[10] Cintas, *Amulettes*, pp. 76 ff. Vives, *Arqueología cartaginesa*, pp. 39 f.

[11] Vives, *Arqueología cartaginesa*, p. 40, Pl. IX, 22. Almagro Gorbea (Mª J.), Fortuny, *XI CNA*, pp. 463 ff. Almagro Gorbea (Mª J.,), Fortuny, *NAH*, XIII y XIV, pp. 7 ff.

[12] Poulsen, *Der Orient*, pp. 59 f. Blanco Freijeiro, *AEArq.*, XXIX, p. 47. For further parallels with this theme, cf. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, pp. 144 f.

[13] The Mesopotamian parallels cited by Blázquez, *Tartessos*, p. 145, are thus out of place.

[14] Poulsen, *Der Orient*, p. 59.

[15] Blanco Freijeiro, *AEArq.*, XXIX, p. 48.

30. MALAKA (?), CERRO DEL VILLAR, MÁLAGA

The small hill Cerro del Villar is situated in the middle of very flat country, some 150 m. to the right of the River Guadalhorce and about half a kilometre in a straight line from its mouth. At this spot the Malaga O.J.E. group found an abundance of Phoenician material on the surface, along the embankment of the railway from Malaga to Fuengirola, and so informed the archaeological authorities. In view of the importance of the surface finds, Professor Arribas decided to carry out a number of stratigraphic cuts from 1966 onwards, with the help of the same O.J.E. group.[1] The study of the material from the deposit has been carried out recently by Arribas and Oswaldo Arteaga. According to a report I have received from the latter, the earliest material collected goes back to the middle of the 7th century. On the other hand the establishment cannot have survived beyond the end of the 5th century. It is a trading-post which must have been populated by settlers of Phoenician origin who evolved locally into becoming naturalized in the country. For these reasons it is supposed that this may have been the Phoenician colony of *Malaka.*

From Cerro del Villar comes one scarab and a divine image.[2]

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Jean Leclant, *Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1971-1972,* in *Orientalia,* 42, 3, Roma, 1973, pp. 393 ff.

Cerro del Villar, No. 30.01 Scarab (Pl. CXLII)

Material and Colour: Veined agate; the scarab is mounted in a silver finger-ring.

Measurements: length with mount 1.35 cm., breadth with mount 1.05 cm., height with mount 0.45 cm., greatest diameter of ring 2.40 cm.

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[1] Arribas y O.J.E. de Málaga, *X CNA,* pp. 359 ff. I learn from Señor O. Arteaga, to whom I am indebted for this information, that a memoir of these excavations compiled by Professor Arribas and himself is now in the press.

[2] I should like also to note the existence of a small pebble engraved with a motif entirely similar to that of the scarab, which I am uncertain how to assess. According to what I am told the pebble was found on the surface at Cerro del Villar and could be a native copy of the scarab, but the lack of rigour in the circumstances of its discovery leads me to entertain serious doubts about its authenticity.

Place of Keeping: Malaga Archaeological Museum (at present in the *Instituto Central de Restauración de Madrid*).

Circumstances of Discovery: Found in the year 1965 by the Malaga O.J.E. Group[3] in not very clear circumstances.[4]

Bibliography: Arribas y O.J.E. de Málaga, *X CNA*, p. 361. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 42, 3, p. 439.

Date: The material collected on the Cerro del Villar is of the 7th-5th centuries. The scarab must be of the 7th-6th centuries.

Description: According to the evidence of López Malax-Echeverría on the back of the stone there are traces of lines sketching the dorsal scheme of the scarab but which could be natural. On the reverse, very finely engraved and very stylized at one and the same time, is a pharaoh on foot moving to the right, dressed in a kilt and crowned with the *pschent* or "double crown". The pharaoh's head seems also to be dressed with the typical cloth folded backwards. In his left hand he bears a high palm tree, held up vertically, and in front of him is another vertical sign, apparently the *wsr*. The monarch could be the falcon-headed Horus, since the detail of the head cannot be made out at all. The design must mean "Power of the Pharaoh" or "Power of Horus". The scarab is mounted in a silver swivel-ring.

Parallels: The type of scarab with the representation of a royal or divine personage holding up a palm-tree in his hand seems to be of Hyksos origin.[5] A scarab with a similar representation was found in Cyprus,[6] and others in Palestine.[7] Other more or less similar scarabs, showing gods or kings holding up various sceptres of elongated form are well known both in Egypt itself[8] and in Palestine.[9] From Carthage too a similar piece can be cited.[10]

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[3] I here thank my friend Alberto López Malax-Echeverría, a long-standing member of the Malaga O.J.E. Group and at present a member of the *Seminario de Investigaciones "Malaka"*, for all the information he has given me about this piece, and for the photograph of it. I was not able to see the scarab owing to its being in Madrid for restoration. I also thank Señor Oswaldo Arteaga, who allowed me to see the study of the piece and gave me a great deal of information about the deposit.

[4] According to Señor Muñoz Gambero, chief of the Malaga O.J.E. Group, the scarab was found at the surface, but from a letter of Señor O. Arteaga I learned that it must really have been found in a stratigraphy in the course of excavations, though it is now impossible to be sure of its exact stratigraphic position.

[5] Seters, *Hyksos*, fig. 18 (p. 65).

[6] Excavations of Kition in the year 1967. I am indebted to Professor Jean Leclant for this information.

[7] Rowe, *Catalogue*, Pl. VII, 282, 283, 285, 291, 292, 293.

[8] Petrie, *Buttons*, Pl. XV, 997, 1011.

[9] Rowe, *Catalogue*, Pl. XVII, 662, 664, 665, 666; XVIII, 694, this one rather similar; the personage holds up the *wsr* sign.

[10] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 248, No. 689.

Conclusion: Scarab of Egyptian manufacture, probably a work of the Saite period imitating models of the Hyksos period.

Cerro del Villar, No. 30.02 Figure of a Deity (Pl. CXLIII)

Material and Colour: Terracotta; has completely lost its burnish.

Measurements: 9 × 5.8 cm. in its present condition.

Place of Keeping: Malaga Archaeological Museum.

Circumstances of Discovery: Found on the surface in February 1970 by Juan Manuel Muñoz Gambero.[11]

Bibliography: Unpublished.

Date: In the opinion of Arteaga, who is studying the deposit, its material goes from the 7th to the 5th century or to the beginning of the 4th. The date of manufacture of the image is perhaps somewhere towards the end of the lifetime of the deposit (beginning of 4th century?) like the similar pieces found in the Puig de Sant Andreu, but that is not absolutely certain.

Description: Fragment of terracotta, hollow inside, representing probably the head of the god Bes. Of his features can be seen the beginning of his hair, his two big eyes out of proportion to the rest of his face, his snub nose, his distended cheeks, his half-open mouth with its suggestion of a smile, and the beginning of his beard. In its original state it must have been a rendering of the whole body of the god, of relatively large size.

Parallels: I have already dealt with terracottas of this type reproducing the image of the god Bes in connection with No. 08.01, from the Puig de Sant Andreu, where I quote its parallels in the Mediterranean sphere. Other peninsular parallels, beyond that mentioned, are another terracotta from Puig de Sant Andreu itself, No. 08.02, and perhaps the Jebut figurine, No. 11.01.

Conclusion: This piece was probably manufactured in the West, since some moulds for making them are known from the Punic world, especially from Carthage and Ibiza, where it is certain that Bes was of particular importance.

30a. CHURRIANA (MÁLAGA)

On the discovery of an Egyptianizing plaquette, supposedly Phoenician, and of an Egyptian Canopic jar, see Vol. I, pp. 39 ff.

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[11] I thank Señores Muñoz Gambero and López Malax-Echeverría for the facilities afforded me to study this piece, and for all the information they have given me on it.

31. CALPE, GORHAM'S CAVE. GIBRALTAR

Gorham's Cave is an important palaeolithic deposit on the Rock of Gibraltar. The cave is on the south-east side of the Rock and was excavated by J. Waechter, who published the prehistoric levels and material in 1951.[1] In the upper stratum of the cave's archaeological deposit Punic pottery was found, fragments of two terracotta figures, some polychrome glass phials, bronze fibulae and fish-hooks, hand-made pottery, scarabs and other Egyptian amulets, and necklace beads. All this material, shared between the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, the British Museum in London, and the Gibraltar Museum, remained unpublished and unstudied until recently Culican concerned himself with it. The pottery of Phoeno-Punic type collected in Gorham's Cave covers a considerable stretch of time, at least from the 7th to the 3rd centuries,[2] and proves a Punic presence in Gibraltar up to the Second Punic War. Culican supposes moreover, correctly in my opinion, that it is evidence there of a Punic cult of the *genius loci*, similar to that which was practised in the Cova d'Escuieram in Ibiza, since the cave was neither inhabited nor used as a burial place during this long period. It remains to be determined, however, whether the cult was devoted to a mere spirit of the cave or to some more important deity connected with the Straits, perhaps Melqart himself.[3]

The excavations of Gorham's Cave were conducted in 1948, 1950, and 1951. The material of the Punic period appeared exclusively at Level A, in great quantity considering the relative thinness of the Level. Below it was a series of thick levels containing Upper Palaeolithic and Mousterian material.[4] The Punic material was sent for study to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford and has recently returned from there to the Gibraltar Museum.[5]

In Gorham's Cave were recovered 29 scarabs with more or less legible inscriptions, a few illegible,[6] and 5 amulets. I have not been able to examine this material personally and for that reason base myself exclusively on Culican's study.

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[1] Waechter, *PPSoc.*, XVII, pp. 83ff.

[2] Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, pp. 121ff., especially pp. 125ff.

[3] Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 132.

[4] Waechter, *PPSoc.*, XVII, p. 87.

[5] Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 133.

[6] Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 110. We thank Professor Culican for the information he has given us on this material, and the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford for the two photographs with seal impressions of many of this scarabs. In this photographs we can see the five scarabs with illegible or erased reverse, indicated with a question mark, not studied by Culican and omitted by us.

Bibliography:

J. D'A. Waechter, *Excavations at Gorham's Cave, Gibraltar. Preliminary Report for the Seasons 1948 and 1950*, in *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, XVII, pt. I, Cambridge, 1951, pp. 83 ff.

William Culican, *Phoenician remains from Gibraltar*, in *The Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology*, 1, No. 5, Sydney, 1972, pp. 110 ff.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.01 Scarab (Pls. CXLIV and CXLVI)

Material and Colour: Blue glazed composition.

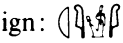
Measurements: length 1.3 cm.

Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum.

Circumstances of Discovery: Came to light in Level A of the Cave, which varies in thickness from 4 to 24 cm., together with the other scarabs and the Phoenician material. The level rests on a stalagmite floor, below which was a level already Upper Palaeolithic (Level B).[7]

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 111, figs. 1,I; 2,I; 4.

Date: The assemblage of Phoenician and Punic material in Gorham's Cave is dated from the 7th to 3rd centuries. This scarab must be of the 7th-6th centuries, as is confirmed by the name of Psammetichus on No. 31.04.

Description: Judging from the published photograph of the backs of the glazed composition scarabs,[8] their dorsal schemes belong to Types I (only one to be seen, in the upper left-hand corner), IV, and VI. On the reverse of this piece we have in the centre the goddess Maât, holding up the cross of life and with the *maât* feather on her head. The goddess is flanked by two *maât* feathers. At the extremes of the composition, on one side is the *nfr* sign, and the sign on the other has been interpreted by Culican as the sun-disk, but to me it seems much more logical that this should be a *nb* sign: . It seems here that we have a multiple trigram of Amun in which the god's name is to be read twice starting from the central sign. The goddess Maât would represent the *ʾI* owing to the equivalence of the *maât* feather with the *ỉ* sign. The two *mꜣʿt* feathers are equivalent to *m* by acrophony, and the *nfr* and *nb* signs are equivalent to *n*, also by acrophony. But there is also the possibility of reading it as "The perfect Lord of the Double Truth" or, reading backwards, "The Lord of the Double Truth is perfect".

Parallels: The design of this scarab is very similar to an example in the

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[7] Waechter, *PPSoc.*, XVII, pp. 85 and 87, fig. 2 (p. 86).

[8] Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, fig. 4.

Cairo Museum, with two *nfr* signs in the extremes and lacking only the *maât* feather behind the goddess.[9]

Conclusion: Scarab of Egyptian manufacture.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.02 Scarab (Pls. CXLIV and CXLVI)

Material and Colour: White glazed composition.

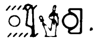
Measurements: length 1.4 cm.

Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum (before that in the Ashmolean Museum, 1964, 394).

Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 111, figs. 1,II; 2,II; 4.

Date: The chronology of Level A, from which this scarab was recovered, varies from the 7th to the 3rd centuries. The piece itself must be of the 7th or 6th century, as is confirmed by No. 31.04, with the name Psammetichus.

Description: On the dorsal scheme of the glazed composition scarabs cf. my remarks on No. 31.01. The inscription on the reverse is in rather bad condition, but it seems that a sun-disk, a *maât* feather, and the goddess Maât with the feather on her head holding up the cross of life can be made out, with a strange sign which I cannot identify: . Culican too had his problems with this last sign, and thinks that perhaps it can be read *nb*. In that case we should perhaps have the name *Nb-mꜣʿt-Rʿ*, the *praenomen* of Amenhotep III, but that is very hypothetical.

Parallels: The arrangement of the signs on this scarab is strongly reminiscent of the previous one, No. 31.01.

Conclusion: Scarab manufactured in Egypt.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.03 Scarab (Pls. CXLIV and CXLVI)

Material and Colour: White glazed composition.

Measurements: length 1.2 cm.

Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum (before that in the Ashmolean Museum, 1964, 397).

Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

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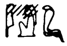
[9] Newberry, *CGC.*, *Scarab-shaped seals*, Pl. IX, 36641.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 111, figs. 1, III; 4.

Date: Level A, in which this scarab came to light is dated from the 7th to the 3rd century. The piece must be of the 7th or 6th century, like No. 31.04, with the name of Psammetichus.

Description: On the dorsal schemes of the glazed composition scarabs, cf. remarks on No. 31.01.  : The inscription on the reverse is in very bad condition and lacks the upper part. On it is a deity impossible to recognize, protected by a goddess in the form of a *uraeus*. In front of the two figures is a vertical sign, perhaps the *maât* feather.

Parallels: On a scarab in the Cairo Museum there is the god Re, in human form and with a disk over his head, protected by the *uraeus*, and both figures on an *nb* sign.[10]

Conclusion: Scarab of Egyptian manufacture.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.04 Scarab (Pls. CXLIV and CXLVI)

Material and Colour: Dark green glazed composition.

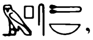
Measurements: length 1.1 cm.

Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum.

Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, pp. 111 f., figs. 1, IV; 2, IV; 4.

Date: Level A, in which this scarab came to light, extends from the 7th to 3rd century. The piece bears the name of Psammetichus, who judging from the orthography must be Psammetichus I or Psammetichus II or, less easily, Psammetichus III. So it seems that the piece must have been manufactured in the second half of the 7th century or the beginning of the 6th.

Description: On the dorsal scheme, cf. remarks on No. 31.01. On the reverse is inscribed the name Psammetichus, , in the complete orthography *Psmṯk*, which is not the most usual.[11] The use of the *ṯ* sign is an argument in favour of the name being one of the two first Psammetichi. The list of known monuments of Psammetichus III is very short and moreover his name could be written with the *t* sign.[12]

Parallels: Scarabs inscribed with the name Psammetichus are extremely numerous. In the Peninsula I can cite No. 10.02 from Mas de Mussols, and

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[10] Newberry, *CGC.*, *Scarab-shaped seals*, Pl. IX, 36707.

[11] Only the *k* sign lacks the handle of the basket according to Culican's reconstruction.

[12] Gauthier, *LR.*, IV, p. 131; cf. Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 55.

No. 09.03 from Can Canyís, in connection with which I have already quoted other parallels from Egypt and the rest of the Mediterranean.

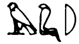
Conclusion: Scarab manufactured in Egypt, with the name probably of Psammetichus I or Psammetichus II.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.05 Scarab (Pl. CXLIV)

Material and Colour: White glazed composition.
Measurements: length 1.2 cm.
Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum.
Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 112, figs. 1, V; 2, V; 4.

Date: Level A, in which this was found, extends from the 7th to the 3rd century. The date of manufacture of the scarab must be in the 7th or 6th century, like No. 31.04.

Description: On the dorsal scheme cf. remarks on No. 31.01. On the reverse is the falcon Horus protected by a goddess in the form of a *uraeus*, which is seen at his shoulder. Behind the two is a vertical sign, very shapeless, which could be a *nb* or a *nwb* placed in a non-horizontal position:  .

Parallels: The *uraeus* placed behind a deity, for protection, is well attested in scarabs from Egypt.[13] From Carthage there is an example in which the *uraeus* is behind Horus-the-child, and both under an *nb* sign in normal position.[14]

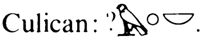
Conclusion: Scarab manufactured in Egypt.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.06 Scarab (Pls. CXLIV and CXLVI)

Material and Colour: White glazed composition.
Measurements: length 1.3 cm.
Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum.
Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 112, figs. 1, VI; 2, VI; 4.

Date: The piece must be of the 7th or 6th century like No. 31.04. It was recovered from Level A, extending from the 7th to the 3rd century.

Description: On the dorsal scheme cf. remarks on No. 31.01. The signs engraved on the reverse cannot be clearly made out in the drawing published by Culican: ?. Apparently, in the centre is the falcon Horus with some long object in his talons, perhaps a *uraeus*, or the vessel *ḥs*, or the *maât* feather. Behind Horus is the sun-disk and below it a very shapeless sign, perhaps the basket *nb*.

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[13] Newberry, *CGC*., *Scarab-shaped seals*, Pl. IX.

[14] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 122, No. 115.

Parallels: From Carthage there is also a scarab of the 7th or 6th century on which we have the falcon Horus over the *nb* sign with the sun-disk above.[15]

Conclusion: Scarab manufactured in Egypt.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.07 Scarab (Pls. CXLIV and CXLVI)

Material and Colour: Chestnut glazed composition.

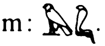
Measurements: length 0.8 cm.

Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum (before that in the Ashmolean Museum, 1964, 400).

Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 112, figs. 1, VII; 4.

Date: This piece must be of the 7th or 6th century, like No. 31.04. It came to light in Level A, extending from the 7th to the 3rd century.

Description: On the dorsal scheme cf. remarks on No. 31.01. On the reverse is engraved the god Horus in falcon form, protected by a goddess in *uraeus* form, placed behind him: .

Parallels: The design on the reverse of this scarab is very similar to that on No. 31.05, coming also from Gorham's Cave.

Conclusion: Scarab manufactured in Egypt.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.08 Scarab (Pls. CXLIV and CXLVI)

Material and Colour: White glazed composition.

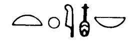
Measurements: length 1.1 cm.

Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum.

Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 112, figs. 1, VIII; 4.

Date: The piece must be of the 7th or 6th century, like Scarab No. 31.04; the chronology of Level A, where the scarabs came to light, extends from the 7th to the 3rd century.

Description: On the dorsal scheme cf. remarks on No. 31.01. On the reverse is a hieroglyphic inscription framed by two *nb* signs, placed one above and the other below the remaining signs and in opposite positions: . Between them is the sun-disk, the *maât* feather, and the *nfr* sign. Perhaps we may translate "Re is just and perfect", or else "The justice of Re is perfect".

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[15] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 135, No. 166.

Parallels: The association of the signs *mꜣ't* and *nfr* is very common in Egypt, both combined or not with the *r'* sign and the *nb* sign, which can likewise be doubled.[16] Scarabs with a similar inscription have also been found at Carthage.[17]

Conclusion: Scarab manufactured in Egypt.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.09 Scarab (Pls. CXLIV and CXLVI)

Material and Colour: Pale blue glazed composition.

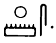
Measurements: length 0.9 cm.

Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum (before that in the Ashmolean Museum, 1964, 391).

Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 112, figs. 1, IX; 4.

Date: The piece must have been manufactured in the 7th or 6th century like No. 31.04. The chronology of Level A, in which it was found, extends from the 7th to the 3rd century.

Description: On the dorsal scheme cf. remarks on No. 31.01. On the reverse is the following hieroglyphic inscription: . The reed *i* or the feather *mꜣ't*; the sun-disk *r'*; the *mn* sign; the *s* sign. Perhaps this is a deformation of the name Amun-Re, in agreement with Vercoutter on a similar case from Carthage,[18] or else perhaps we should read the *praenomen* of Sethos I, Menmaatre.

Parallels: In the previous paragraph, describing the piece, I have already indicated the existence of a scarab with a similar inscription from Carthage.

Conclusion: Scarab of Egyptian manufacture.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.10 Scarab (Pl. CXLIV)

Material and Colour: White glazed composition.

Measurements: length 1 cm.

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[16] Newberry, *CGC.*, *Scarab-shaped Seals*, Pl. XVI, with several examples of these signs in different positions.

[17] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 131, No. 152, p. 132, No. 153, p. 142, No. 196 and p. 160, No. 261.

[18] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 150 f., No. 231.

Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum.
Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 112, figs. 1, X; 4.

Date: The date of manufacture of the piece must be in the 7th or 6th century, like that of No. 31.04. The chronology of Level A, in which it was found, extends from the 7th to the 3rd century.

Description: On the dorsal scheme cf. remarks on No. 31.01. On the reverse we have an inscription comprising five signs, most of them of very uncertain interpretation according to Culican's drawing: 𓄤○𓄣𓎝𓎟(?). The *nfr* sign; an ovate sign, very blurred, that in my view must be the sun-disk *rʿ*; a strange sign that could be the heart *ỉb*; another very blurred sign that seems to be the *wꜣḥ*; finally, the *nb* sign. If my interpretation of the signs is correct, we may translate "*Wꜣḥ-ỉb-Rʿ* is perfect", where the name could belong to Psammetichus I (663-609) or to Apries (588-568), since it was the *praenomen* of the first and the *nomen* of the second. There is also however the possibility that two royal names are combined on this scarab, the *Wꜣḥ-ỉ-Rʿ* already quoted with *Nfr-ỉb-Rʿ*, the *praenomen* of Psammetichus II (594-588). These readings are of course hypothetical, pending verification of the signs on the original piece.

Parallels: The royal names mentioned are well attested both on scarabs found in Egypt[19] and on others from Carthage.[20]

Conclusion: Scarab manufactured in Egypt.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.11 Scarab (Pls. CXLIV and CXLVI)

Material and Colour: Dark green glazed composition.
Measurements: length 0.9 cm.
Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum (before that in the Ashmolean Museum, 1964, 401).
Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 112, figs. 1, XI; 4.

Date: The date of manufacture of the piece must be in the 7th or 6th century, like that of No. 31.04. Level A, in which it came to light, extended from the 7th to the 3rd century.

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[19] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 56.
[20] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 76f.

Description: On the dorsal scheme cf. remarks on No. 31.01. On the reverse we have the *nfr* sign and the *uraeus*, which may be translated "Edjoyet is perfect".

Parallels: The association of the *uraeus* and the *nfr* sign is very common on scarabs, although usually accompanied by other signs.[21]

Conclusion: Scarab manufactured in Egypt.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.12 Scarab (Pls. CXLIV and CXLVI)

Material and Colour: Dark green glazed composition.

Measurements: length 1.1 cm.

Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum (before that in the Ashmolean Museum, 1964, 399).

Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 112, figs. 1, XII; 4.

Date: The piece must be of the 7th or 6th century, like No. 31.04. Level A, in which it was found, extends from the 7th to the 3rd century.

Description: On the dorsal scheme cf. remarks on No. 31.01. On the reverse is a *uraeus*, in front of it probably the *maât* feather and before that two vertical signs completely unidentifiable in Culican's sketch: ? .

Parallels: The lack of precision in the signs engraved on this scarab prevents me from quoting parallels for its inscription.

Conclusion: Scarab probably of Egyptian manufacture.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.13 Scarab (Pls. CXLIV and CXLVI)

Material and Colour: White glazed composition.

Measurements: length 1.4 cm.

Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum.

Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 112, figs. 1, XIII; 2, XIII; 4.

Date: The date of manufacture of the scarab must be in the 7th or 6th century, like that of No. 31.04. The chronology of Level A, in which it was found, extends from the 7th to the 3rd century.

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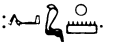
[21] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 80, 121 f. (Nos. 108-113): scarabs from Carthage. Newberry, *CGC.*, *Scarab-shaped Seals*, Pl. XV, numerous examples in the last two lines of drawings; scarabs from Egypt.

Description: On the dorsal scheme cf. remarks on No. 31.01. On the reverse is a fairly complete hieroglyphic inscription: . In the upper part the extended arm, perhaps the *ḫw* sign, below it the *uraeus*, and behind this the sun-disk and the *mn* sign. The translation that seems most probable to me is "Edjoyet and Amun-Re protect me", but possibly the *uraeus* can be interpreted as a sign of Amun,[22] in which case we should read simply "Amun-Re protects me".

Parallels: The formula employed on this scarab was frequent as a proper name in Egypt in the Late Period.[23] From Carthage we have a scarab with this formula, although the god invoked is Horus.[24] I note also that the name Amun-Re written simply with the *mn* sign (accompanied with the *n* or not) and the sun-disk is well attested on scarabs from Carthage.[25]

Conclusion: Scarab manufactured in Egypt.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.14 Scarab (Pls. CXLIV and CXLVI)

Material and Colour: Dark green glazed composition.

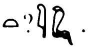
Measurements: length 0.9 cm.

Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum (before that in the Ashmolean Museum, 1964, 402).

Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 113, figs. 1, XIV; 4.

Date: The scarab must be of the 7th or 6th century like No. 31.04. Level A, in which it was found, extends from the 7th to the 3rd century.

Description: On the dorsal scheme cf. remarks on No. 31.01. On the reverse is a hieroglyphic inscription consisting of four signs: . In the upper part the *t* sign; below, a small indistinguishable sign, the *maât* feather, and the *uraeus*, probably representations of Maât and Edjoyet.

Parallels: Some scarabs with a similar inscription have been found in Egypt.[26]

Conclusion: Scarab of Egyptian manufacture.

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[22] Drioton, *WZKM*, 54, p. 14.

[23] Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, p. 266, Nos. 6-12.

[24] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 144, No. 204.

[25] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 133, No. 158, and p. 148, No. 220.

[26] Newberry, *CGC.*, *Scarab-shaped Seals*, Pl. XV, with various examples, and especially No. 36441, also with the *t* sign over the goddesses Maât and Edjoyet.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.15 Scarab (Pls. CXLIV and CXLVI)

Material and Colour: White glazed composition (?)[27]
Measurements: length 1.5 cm.
Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum.
Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 113, figs. 1, XV; 2, XV.

Date: The piece must probably be of the 7th or 6th century, like No. 31.04. Level A, in which it came to light, extends from the 7th to the 3rd century.

Description: On the dorsal scheme cf. remarks on No. 31.01. On the reverse, at the top, we have the winged sun-disk, with two small *uraei* hanging from it with drooping wings in adaptation to the shape of the scarab. The centre is occupied by a sacred beetle flanked by two *uraei*; below is the *nb* sign. The design on the reverse is surrounded by a narrow border.

Parallels: In the Cairo Museum are some scarabs with a very similar inscription, which has been interpreted by Drioton as a trigram of Amun, translating it "Amun-Re is my Lord".[28] This iconographic theme was copied by Punic craftsmen, as is proved by a Pseudoegyptian jasper scarab found at Carthage.[29]

Conclusion: Object manufactured in Egypt.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.16 Scarab (Pls. CXLIV and CXLVI)

Material and Colour: Dark bluish green glass, well baked.[30]
Measurements: length 1.6 cm.
Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum.
Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 113, figs. 1, XVI; 2, XVI.

Date: The piece is probably to be dated to the 4th century. Level A, in which it came to light, extends from the 7th to the 3rd century.

Description: This is a scarab of fine workmanship. On its reverse is a kneeling figure, with raised arms holding up over his head the solar barque. In the barque the sun-disk flanked by two *uraei* supports a kind of "horizontal topping which makes it appear bottle-shaped", in Culican's description. On either side of the figure supporting the barque rises a papyrus stem. The design of the reverse is surrounded by a notched border. The figure upholding the sun in his chariot is probably the god Shu.

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[27] Culican's description.

[28] Drioton, *WZKM*, 54, pp. 25f., No. 80 and No. 92.

[29] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 221, No. 579.

[30] In view of the fact that it is in all probability a Pseudoegyptian product, like its technique, possibly its material may be jasper or some other similar stone and not "glass".

Parallels: Scarabs representing the god Shu holding up the sun-disk are relatively numerous, both in Egypt[31] and at Carthage,[32] and are of Egyptian manufacture. On the other hand, the same model, of Punic manufacture like the present, is not known at Carthage though it is known from other localities of the West Phoenician or Punic world.[33]

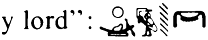
Conclusion: This is probably a Pseudoegyptian scarab, of Punic manufacture.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.17 Scarab (Pls. CXLIV and CXLVI)

Material and Colour: White glazed composition.
Measurements: length 1.8 cm.
Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum.
Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 113, figs. 1, XVII; 2, XVII; 4.

Date: The date of manufacture of the piece is probably in the 7th or 6th century like that of No. 31.04. Level A, in which it came to light, extends from the 7th to the 3rd century.

Description: On the dorsal scheme cf. remarks on No. 31.01. On the reverse, partially defaced, a figure can be made out kneeling on the *nwb* sign holding up the solar barque, on which is the sun-disk *Rʿ*. The figure looks like Shu, but since he is actually hiding behind a wall we can be certain that it is Amun — in Egyptian "to hide" is *ỉmn* — so that it may be read "Amun-Re is my lord": .

Parallels: A scarab found in Egypt and in the Cairo Museum is almost identical with this.[34]

Conclusion: Scarab of Egyptian manufacture.

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[31] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 58 f.

[32] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 107, Nos. 49 and 50.

[33] Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 113.

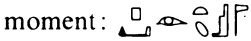
[34] Newberry, *CGC*., *Scarab-shaped seals*, Pl. X, No. 36648.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.18 Scarab (Pls. CXLIV and CXLVI)

Material and Colour: White glazed composition.
Measurements: length 1.2 cm.
Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum.
Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. my remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 113, figs. 1, XVIII; 4.

Date: The piece is of the 7th or 6th century, like No. 31.04. The chronology of Level A, in which it was found, extends from the 7th to the 3rd century.

Description: On the dorsal scheme cf. remarks on No. 31.01. The inscription on the reverse is very slapdash and the signs run into one another. Its meaning is nevertheless too clear to be doubted for a moment: . On top is the *p* sign; below, the extended arm holding an object, *dỉ*; and after that the eye sign *ỉr*; below, in the middle, the chair *ws*; in front of it the characteristic group determinative of feminine names — the *t* sign and the egg sign; and after it the determinative of divine names, the standard *nṯr*. In fact, we have here a male personal name, *Pꜣ-dỉ-Wsỉr*, Petosiris, very well known in the Late Period.[35] Vercoutter explains the presence of the female determinatives by an engraver's error, due to a confusion over the chair sign which is also used for writing the name of the goddess Isis.[36]

Parallels: I have already indicated that the name Petosiris is very frequent in Egypt in the Late Period. From Carthage a scarab has been recovered, of the 7th or 6th century, with an absolutely identical inscription.[37] A XXVIth Dynasty scarab in the Cairo Museum is similar, with the name *Pꜣ-dỉ-ʾIst*.[38]

Conclusion: Scarab manufactured in Egypt, which can assuredly be dated to the Saite Period.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.19 Scarab (Pl. CXLV)

Material and Colour: Green glazed composition.
Measurements: length 1.3 cm.
Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum.[39]
Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

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[35] Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, p. 123, No. 1.

[36] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 147.

[37] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 78 and 147, No. 217.

[38] Newberry, *CGC.*, *Scarab-shaped seals*, Pl. VI, No. 36972.

[39] Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 114, fails to indicate whether this scarab was previously in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford or not.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 114, figs. 3, XIX; 4.

Date: The piece was manufactured probably in the 7th or 6th century, like No. 31.04. The chronology of Level A, where it was found, extends from the 7th to the 3rd century.

Description: On the dorsal scheme cf. remarks on No. 31.01. On the reverse, according to Culican's description,[40] is a sphinx "with raised wings and raised tail sitting on an arc-shaped exergue" (or perhaps simply the *nb* sign). The body and the wings show traces of cross-hatching. Apparently the sphinx is wearing a conical headdress, probably some royal crown.

Parallels: Culican cites as parallels with this piece scarabs from Naucratis, Egypt, Carthage, Finocchito, and Beth Shemesh.[41]

Conclusion: There is no doubt that this is a scarab of Egyptian manufacture.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.20 Scarab (Pl. CXLVI)

Material and Colour: Dark green glazed composition.

Measurements: length 1.12 cm.

Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum (before that in the Ashmolean Museum, 1964, 392).

Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 114, figs. 3, XX; 4.

Date: The piece was perhaps manufactured in the 7th or 6th century, like No. 31.04. The chronology of Level A, where it was found, extends from the 7th to 3rd century.

Description: On the dorsal scheme cf. remarks on No. 31.01. On the reverse are two schematic figures moving towards a central post, the whole placed over the *nb* sign, apparently. The central post, lacking any specific feature so far as can be told from the photograph, could be a deformation of the *ḏd* sign, the pillar of Osiris. The top of the scarab is broken away.

Parallels: In the Cairo Museum are some similar scarabs.[42] Culican quoted a parallel in the Cagliari Museum.[43]

Conclusion: Scarab probably manufactured in Egypt.

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[40] For this and the following pieces from Gorham's Cave I use basically Culican's descriptions, since the published photographs are almost unusable and the drawings are not given.

[41] Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 114.

[42] Newberry, *CGC*., *Scarab-shaped seals*, Pl. IX, Nos. 36414, 36320, 36988 and 36635.

[43] Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 114.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.21 Scarab (Pl. CXLV)

Material and Colour: Green jasper (?).
Measurements: length 1.5 cm.
Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum.
Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 114, figs. 3, XXI; 5.

Date: The scarab is probably 4th-century. The chronology of Level A, where it was found, extends from the 7th to the 3rd century.

Description: On the reverse, engraved with good technique, is a figure on horseback wearing a rounded headdress. No other detail of clothing is apparent. One hand is raised against his breast. Probably it is a representation of a Carthaginian Rider-God.

Parallels: The representation on the reverse is similar to that on a scarab found at Empúries, No. 07.02. In my study of that piece I have already mentioned other parallels in the Mediterranean area.

Conclusion: Pseudoegyptian scarab, undoubtedly manufactured in the West, very probably representing a Punic Rider-God.[44]

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.22 Scarab (Pl. CXLV)

Material and Colour: Green jasper.
Measurements: length 1.2 cm.
Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum.
Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, pp. 114f., figs. 3, XXII; 5.

Date: The piece is probably of the 4th or 3rd century. The chronology of Level A, where it was found, extends from the 7th to the 3rd century.

Description: The back of this scarab is unworked. On the reverse is a schematized head of Bes, summarily engraved with the globular technique. On its edge is a notched border. Bes wears a kind of atrophied crown consisting of "three knobbed pins".

Parallels: Scarabs with representations of the god Bes are very numerous, both among those manufactured in Egypt, and among Pseudoegyptian products, since it was the most widespread Egyptianizing motif with the Punic scarab manufacturers.[45] Of the various forms in which the god Bes was represented on Pseudoegyptian scarabs one of the most frequent was this front-face head. Examples can be quoted from Carthage[46] and Ibiza.[47] From the Iberian peninsula I can cite another similar scarab also found in Gorham's Cave, No. 31.23, and perhaps, though its design is very blurred and uncertain, the scarab found at Roses, No. 05.01, in which the whole body of Bes is apparently represented.

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[44] Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 114.

[45] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 87f. and 90.

Conclusion: An undoubtedly Pseudoegyptian piece, manufactured in the West. On the prophylactic qualities of the image of Bes on scarabs, cf. my remarks on No. 05.01, from Roses.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.23 Scarab (Pl. CXLV)

Material and Colour: Green glazed composition (?).

Measurements: length 1.3 cm.

Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum (before that in the Ashmolean Museum).

Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 115, fig. 3, XXIII.

Date: The date of manufacture of the piece is about 4th-century. The chronology of Level A, where it came to light, extends from the 7th to the 3rd century.

Description: The back of the scarab is unworked. On the reverse we have a face of Bes, crudely drawn. Eyes, nose, and mouth are clearly distinguishable, but the lower part of the face is completely covered in hair. On the head too is a big tuft of hair.

Parallels: To judge from the description this piece is very similar to the foregoing, No. 31.22, in connection with which I have already indicated its parallels in the Western Mediterranean.

Conclusion: Pseudoegyptian scarab, probably of Punic manufacture.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.24 Scarab (Pl. CXLVI)

Material and Colour: ?[48]

Measurements: length 1.21 cm.

Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum (before that in the Ashmolean Museum, 1964, 386).

Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

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[46] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 88, 211 ff. (Nos. 542, 543 and 545), 238 (No. 650) and 247 (No. 686).

[47] Vives, *Arqueología cartaginesa*, Pl. XXV, 20.

[48] Not indicated by Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 115.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 115, fig. 3, XXIV.

Date: The date of manufacture must be about 4th-century. The chronology of Level A, where it was found, extends from the 7th to the 3rd century.

Description: On the reverse is a winged figure, protecting with wing-arms a child. The upper part of the design is broken off, so that the protective figure cannot be certainly identified, but it must be supposed, at any rate, that it is Isis pterophoros protecting Horus-the-Child. Even so, in such a case it is strange that the infant figure faces outward instead of turning towards his mother.

Parallels: The motif on this piece is fairly frequent in those of the same type manufactured in the Western Mediterranean world. Generally, however, Isis protects Horus without going so far as to hold him in her wing-arms. But as examples of the representation of Isis holding Horus between her wings, giving or not giving the breast, I can quote some pieces from Carthage[49] and from Ibiza.[50]

Conclusion: Pseudoegyptian scarab of Western manufacture.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.25 Scarab (Pl. CXLV)

Material and Colour: Green jasper.
Measurements: length 1.4 cm.
Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum.
Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 115, fig. 3, XXV.

Date: The piece must be 4th-century. The chronology of Level A, in which it was found, extends from the 7th to the 3rd century.

Description: On the reverse is a negro's head surrounded by a notched border. The top of the head is broken off.

Parallels: The theme represented on this scarab is well attested on non-Egyptian scarabs from Carthage[51] and Ibiza.[52]

Conclusion: Pseudoegyptian scarab, probably manufactured in the West Punic world.

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[49] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 249, No. 693.

[50] Vives, *Arqueologia cartaginesa*, Pl. XXIV, 7-8-9.

[51] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 224, No. 589.

[52] Vives, *Arqueologia cartaginesa*, Pl. XXVI, 20.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.26 Scarab (Pl. CXLV)

Material and Colour: Green jasper.

Measurements: length 1.6 cm.

Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum (before that in the Ashmolean Museum).

Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 115, fig. 3, XXVI; 5.

Date: The piece must be of the 4th century. The chronology of Level A, in which it came to light, extends from the 7th to the 3rd century.

Description: On the reverse is a bearded man fighting with a rearing animal, probably a lion. The man holds his weapon behind him. Probably it is a Bes or a Heracles.

Parallels: The design on this scarab is well attested from Carthage[53] and Ibiza[54] on jasper and cornelian scarabs of Western manufacture.

Conclusion: Pseudoegyptian scarab.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.27 Scarab (Pl. CXLV)

Material and Colour: White glazed composition.

Measurements: length 1.4 cm.

Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum (before that in the Ashmolean Museum).

Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, pp. 115f., fig. 3, XXVII.

Date: Probably of the 7th or 6th century like No. 31.04. The chronology of Level A, in which it was found, extends from the 7th to the 3rd century.

Description: On the dorsal scheme cf. remarks on No. 31.01. Culican describes the design on the reverse as a lily upside down or a schematically drawn fly or bee. The photograph published by this author does not allow a single detail to be made out.

Parallels: Scarabs with the representation of a bee, royal symbol of Lower Egypt, or of various plants, are very abundant in Egypt itself.[55] I cannot say more than this, however, without knowing the exact form of the design on the

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[53] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 213, Nos. 548 and 550, and pp. 238 f., Nos. 651-652.

[54] Vives, *Arqueologia cartaginesa*, Pl. XXV, 1-2.

[55] Newberry, *CGC.*, *Scarab-shaped Seals*, Pl. X, with plenty of examples.

Gorham's Cave scarab. The same themes were reproduced on Greek gems in the 5th and 4th centuries, and other parallels, according to Culican, come from Tharros.[56]

Conclusion: Scarab probably manufactured in Egypt, despite Culican's opinion that it is Phoenician.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.28 Scarab (Pl. CXLV)

Material and Colour: Green jasper.
Measurements: length 1.5 cm.
Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum.
Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 116, figs. 3, XXVIII; 5.

Date: The piece is of the 4th century. The chronology of Level A, in which it came to light, extends from the 7th to the 3rd century.

Description: On the reverse is an athlete with strigil, in Hellenizing style.

Parallels: The figure on this scarab recalls other similar designs on non-Egyptian scarabs from Carthage[57] and Ibiza.[58]

Conclusion: Pseudoegyptian scarab, of Western manufacture.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.29 Scarab (Pl. CXLV)

Material and Colour: Green jasper.
Measurements: length 1.4 cm.
Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum.
Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 116.

Date: The piece must be 4th-century. The chronology of Level A, in which it came to light, extends from the 7th to the 3rd century.

Description: This scarab is much worn, so that the theme on its reverse has been only approximately identified by Culican. Apparently it shows an eagle attacking a hare or gazelle from behind.

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[56] Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, pp. 115f.

[57] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 245, No. 676.

[58] Vives, *Arqueología cartaginesa*, Pl. XXIII, 12.

Parallels: This theme is well known at Carthage.[59] From Ibiza one piece is known in which an eagle is seizing a snake.[60]

Conclusion: Pseudoegyptian scarab, of Western manufacture.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.30 Amulet (Pl. CXLV)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.[61]
Measurements: height 1.55 cm.
Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum.
Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 120, fig. 5.

Date: The piece must be from the 7th to 4th century. Level A, in which it was found, extends from the 7th to the 3rd century.

Description: Amulet representing Ptah-as-foetus (Ptah *pataikos*).[62]

Parallels: Similar amulets to this have been recovered at Villaricos, my Nos. 23.11-23.22, in connection with which I have already cited other parallels in the Mediterranean area. Another similar piece comes from Gorham's Cave itself, No. 31.31.

Conclusion: Amulet of Egyptian manufacture.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.31 Amulet (Pl. CXLV)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.[63]
Measurements: height 1.4 cm.
Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum.
Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 120, fig. 5.

Date: The date of this piece is from the 7th to 4th century. The chronology of Level A, in which it was found, extends from the 7th to the 3rd century.

Description: Amulet representing a Ptah *pataikos* (Ptah-as-foetus).

Parallels: Cf. remarks on the Gorham's Cave Amulet No. 31.30.

Conclusion: Amulet of Egyptian manufacture.

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[59] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 231 f., Nos. 620-622.

[60] Vives, *Arqueologia cartaginesa*, Pl. XXVI, 1.

[61] The colour is not given by Culican.

[62] This and the remaining ones are difficult to describe owing to the smallness and lack of clarity of the photograph.

[63] The colour is not given by Culican.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.32 Amulet (Pl. CXLV)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.[64]
Measurements: length 1.15 cm.
Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum.
Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 120, fig. 5.

Date: 7th-4th centuries. The chronology of Level A extends from the 7th to the 3rd century.

Description: Udjat eye cut to shape inside and out.

Parallels: This type of amulet is well attested in Villaricos, Nos. 23.27-23.39. Another similar piece comes from Empúries, No. 07.20, in connection with which I have already referred to other parallels in the Mediterranean area.

Conclusion: Amulet of Egyptian manufacture.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.33 Amulet (Pl. CXLV)

Material and Colour: Glazed composition.[65]
Measurements: length 1.45 cm.
Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum.
Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 120, fig. 5.

Date: 7th-4th centuries. The chronology of Level A, in which it was found, extends from the 7th to the 3rd century.

Description: Udjat eye cut to shape outside.

Parallels: Cf. remarks on the Gorham's Cave Amulet No. 31.32.

Conclusion: Amulet of Egyptian manufacture.

Gorham's Cave, No. 31.34 Amulet (Pl. CXLV)

Material and Colour: White glazed composition.
Measurements: length 1.75 cm., height 1.55 cm.
Place of Keeping: Gibraltar Museum.
Circumstances of Discovery: Cf. remarks on No. 31.01.

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[64] The colour is not given by Culican.

[65] The colour is not given by Culican.

Bibliography: Culican, *AJBA*, 1, No. 5, p. 120, figs. 1 and 5.

Date: 7th-4th centuries. The chronology of the Level A, in which it came to light, extends from the 7th to 3rd century.

Description: Plaquette with fretwork design of the cow Hathor suckling her calf on one side and the udjat eye on the other.

Parallels: This type of amulet is well known from Ibiza[66] and Carthage,[67] as also in Egypt, its place of provenance.[68] A similar example was found in Empúries, No. 07.22.

Conclusion: Amulet of Egyptian manufacture.

NOTICE TO THE READER

Given the long period of time which has elapsed between the completion of this work and its publication, the author and series editor have considered it advisable to modify the original plan of the work. They have thus decided to add a volume IV in which will be assembled those new documents which have been published or made known since 1975, together with a number of general conclusions, revised so as to take into account all the available documentation.

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[66] Vives, *Arqueologia cartaginesa*, Pl. XXXVIII, 15-19.

[67] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, Pl. XXIV, 897-901.

[68] Petrie, *Amulets*, Pl. XXV, 139-142, XXXVII, 207 and 209.

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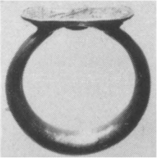

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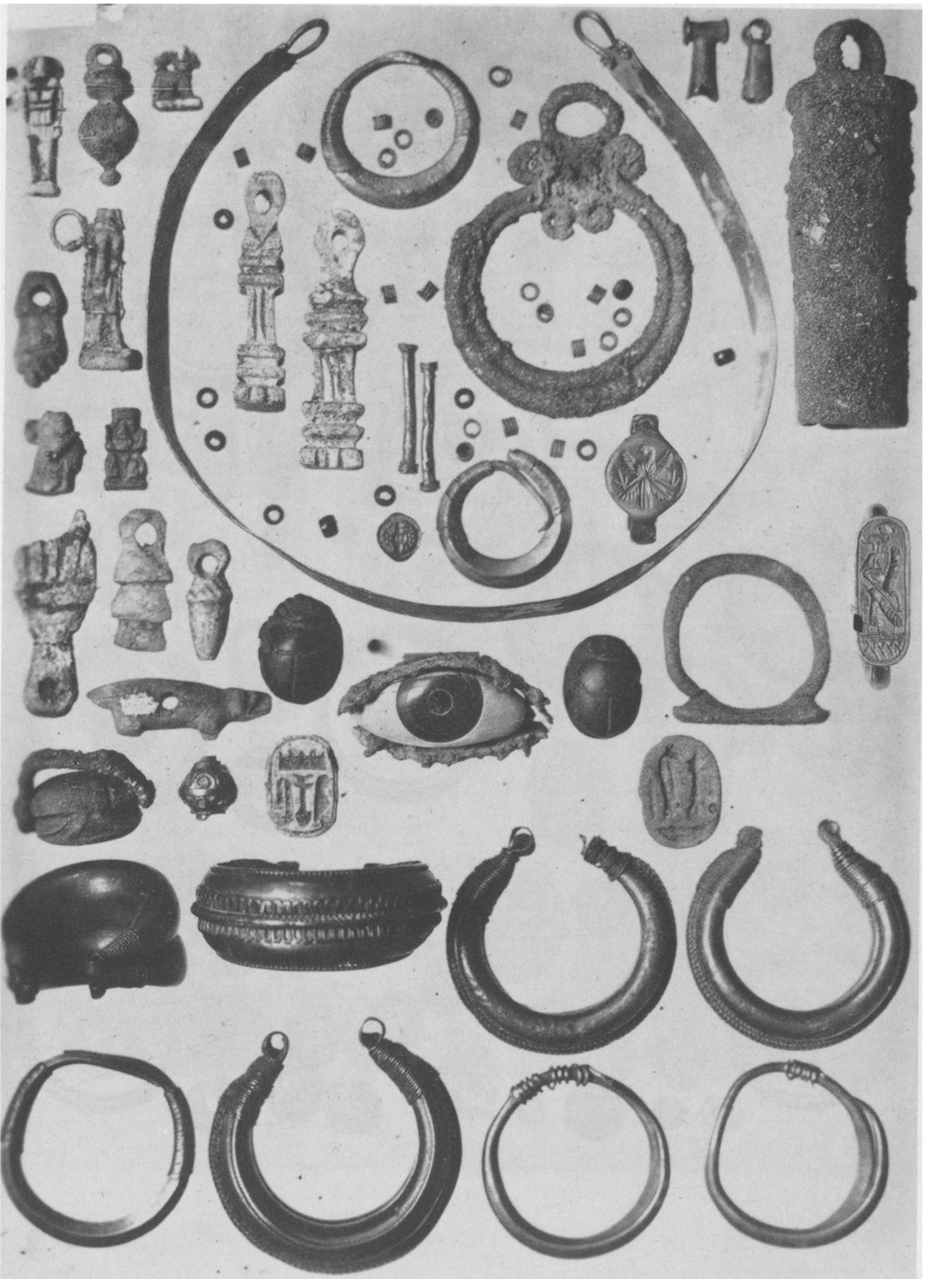

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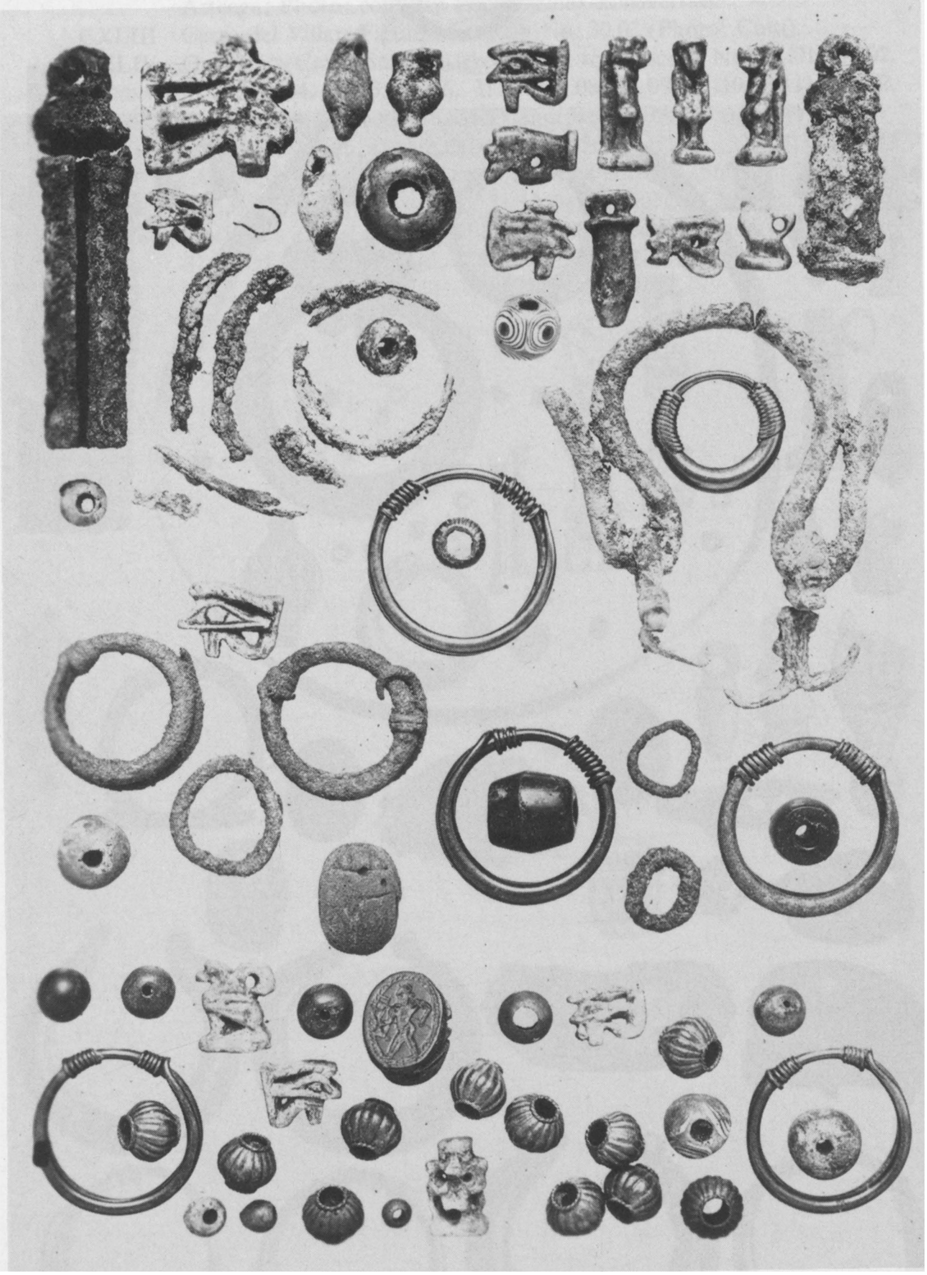

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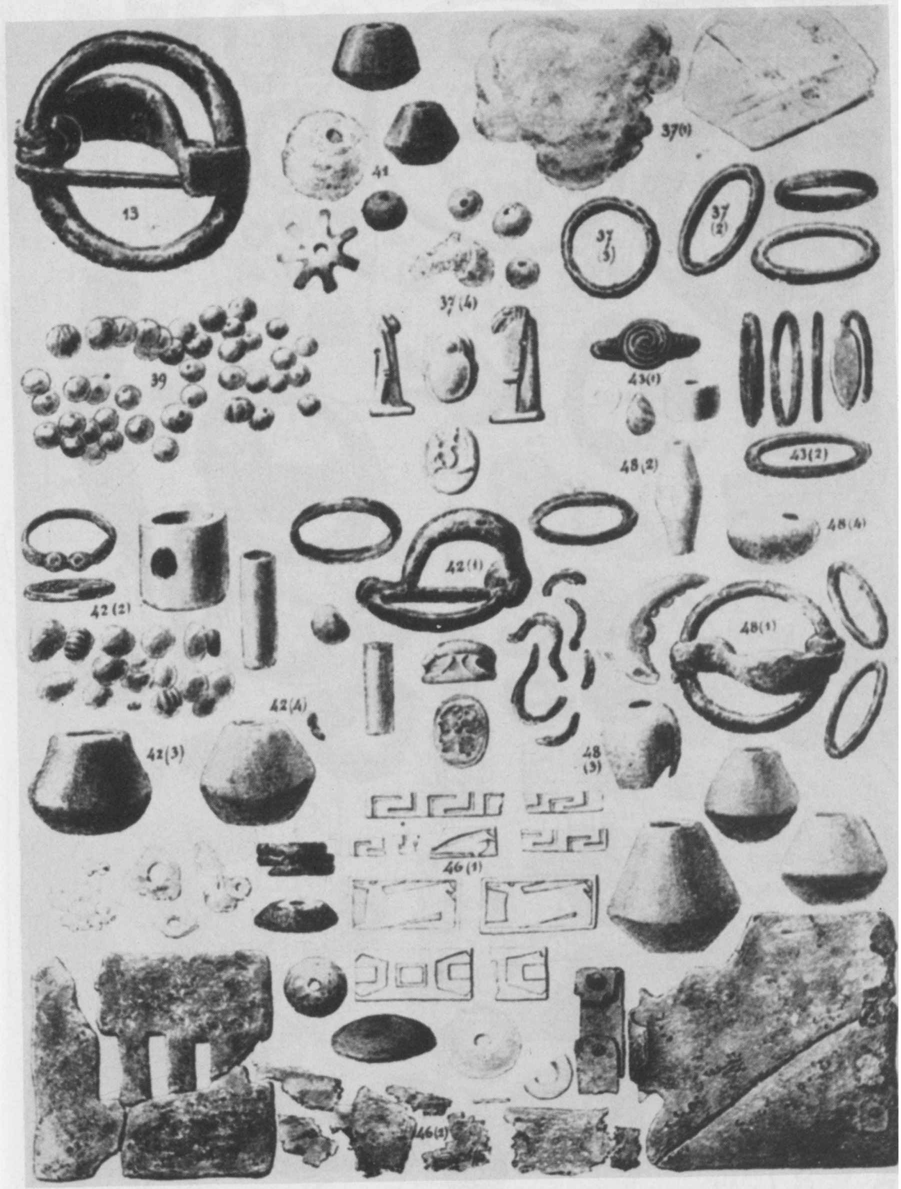
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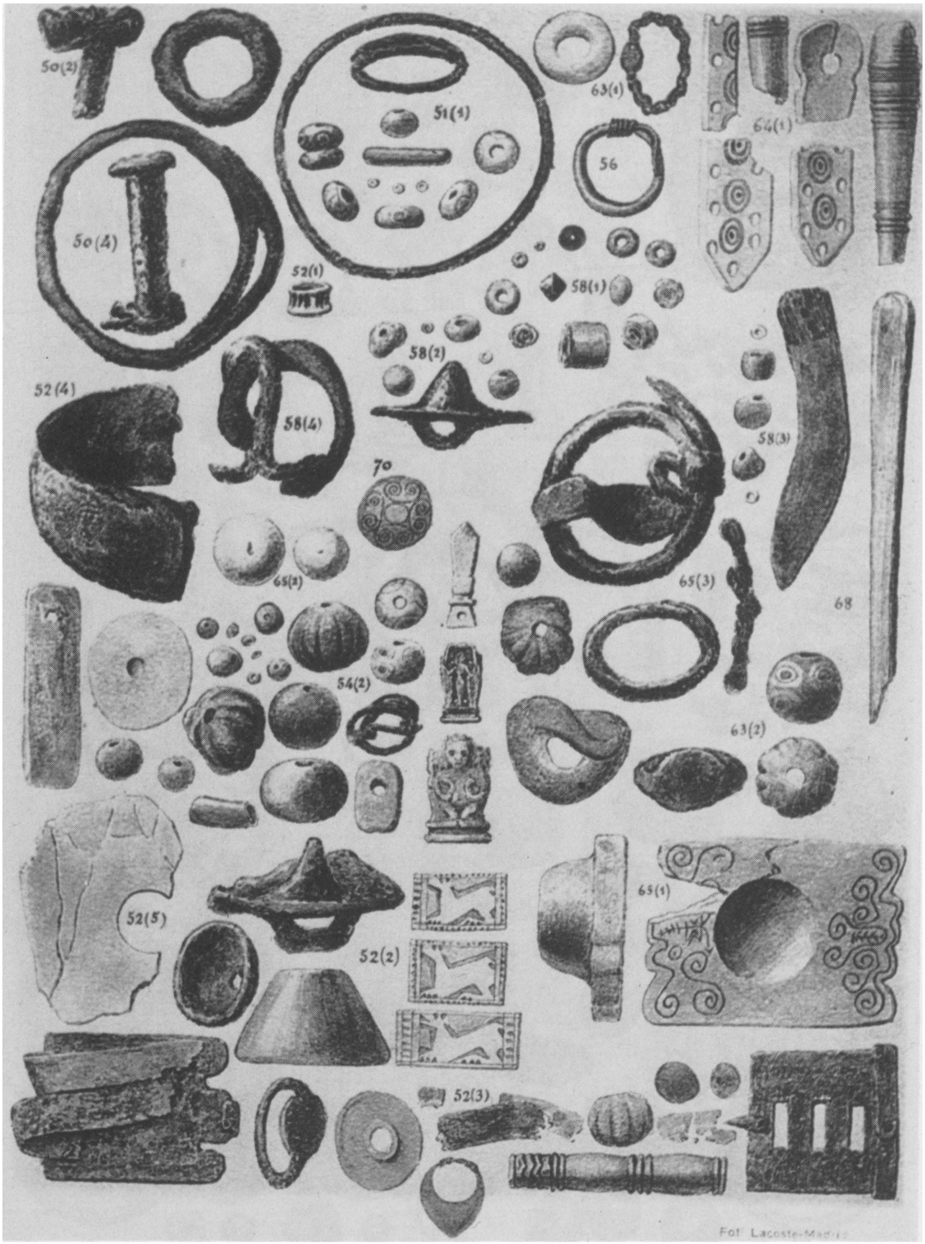
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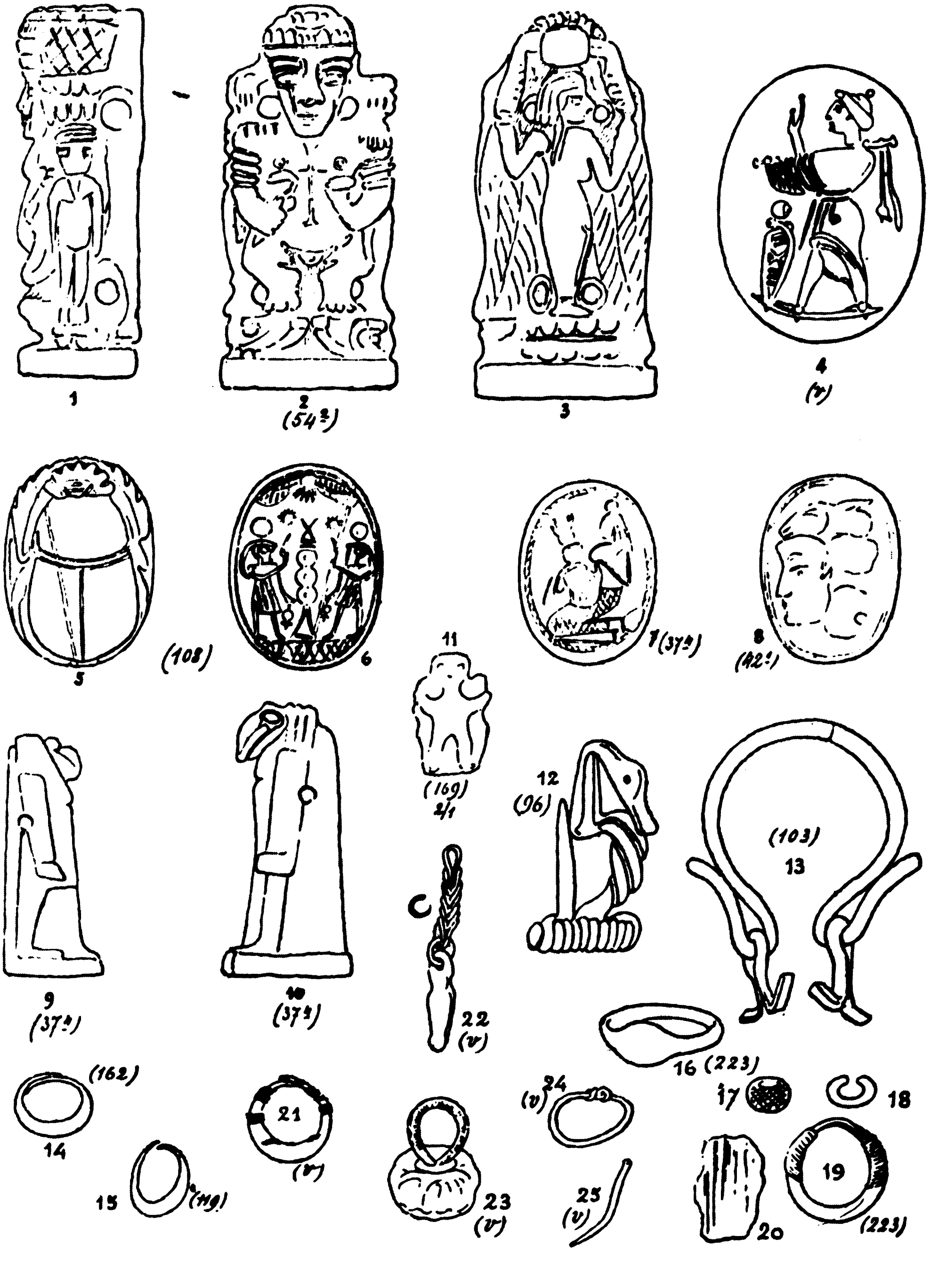
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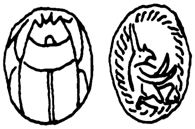
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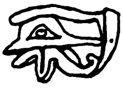
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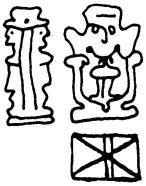
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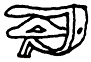
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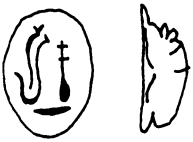
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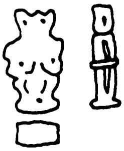
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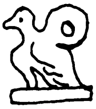
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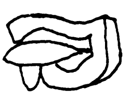
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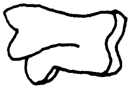
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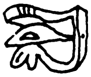
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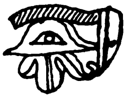
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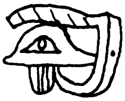
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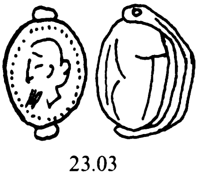
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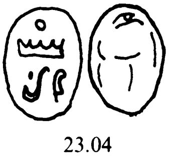
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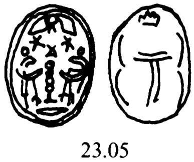
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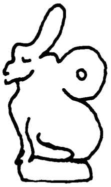
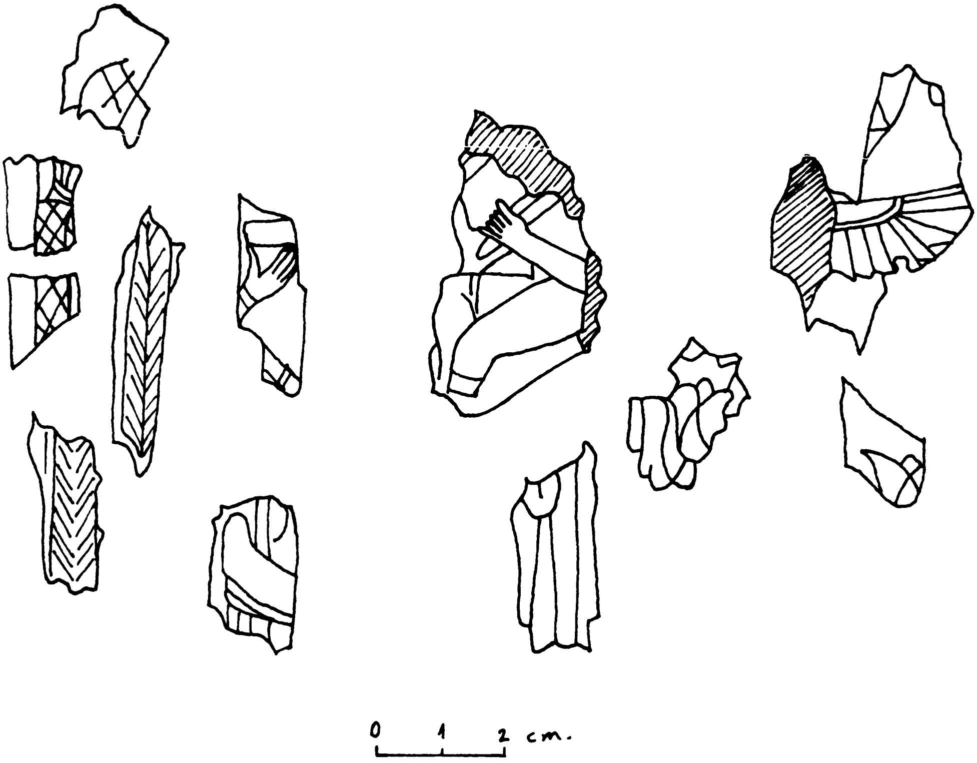

23.40

0 1 2 cm.



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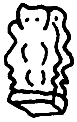

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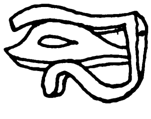

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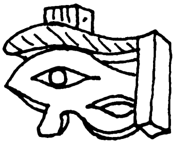

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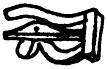

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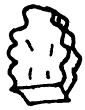

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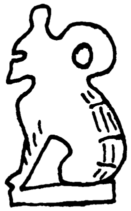

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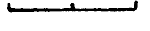
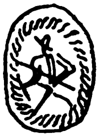


PLATE LXXIII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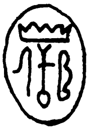
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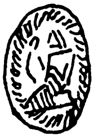
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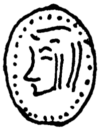
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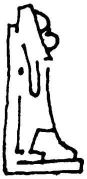
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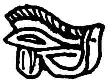
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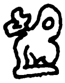
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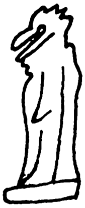
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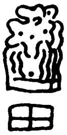
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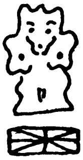
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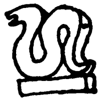
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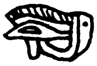
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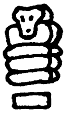
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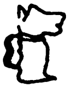
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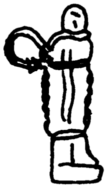
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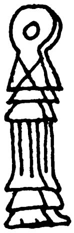
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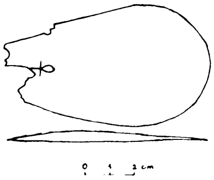
0 1 2 cm.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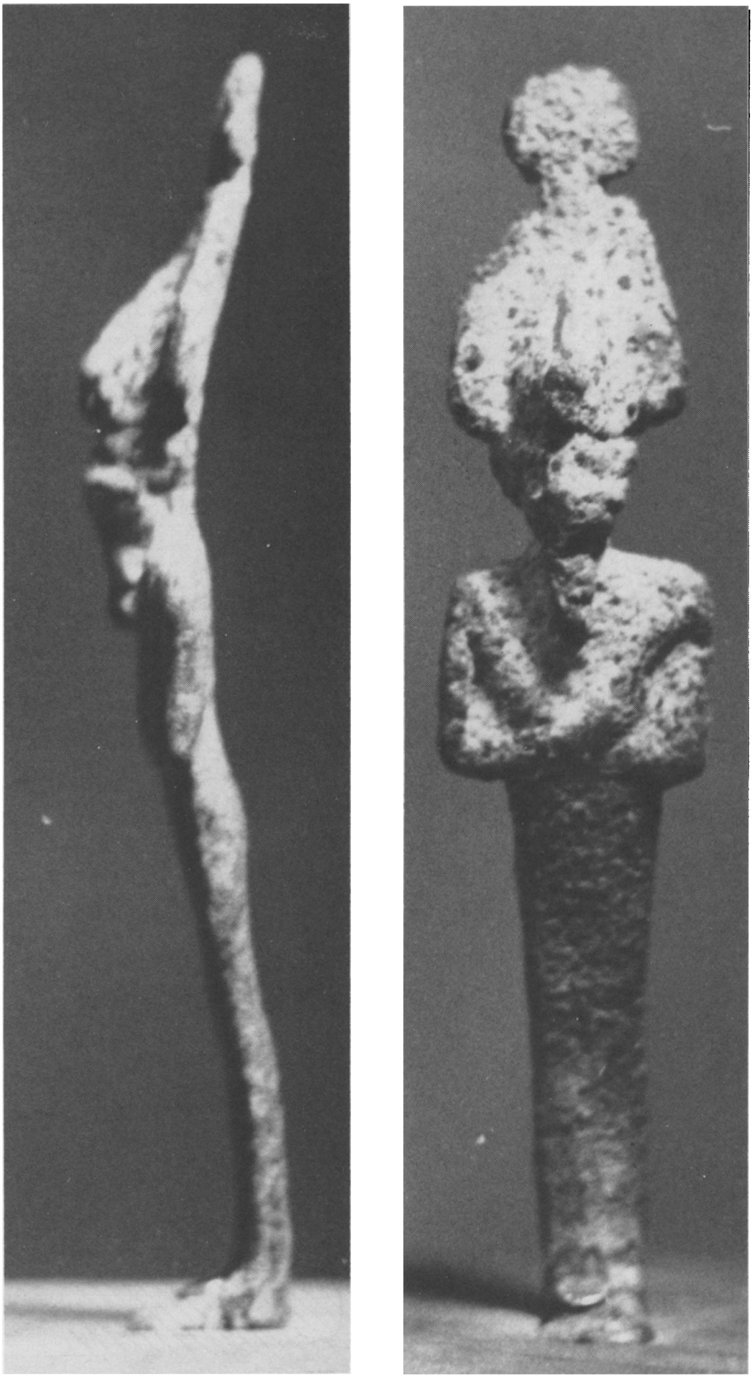

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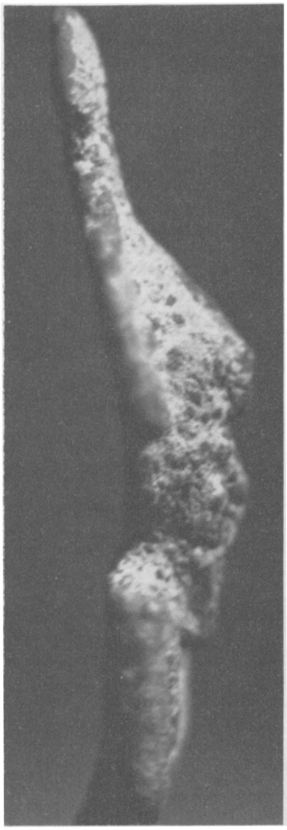

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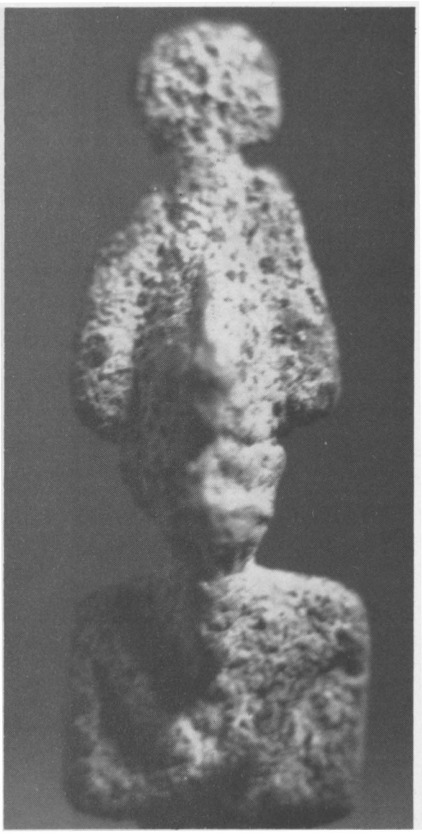

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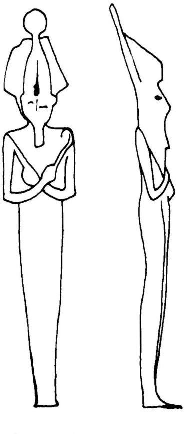

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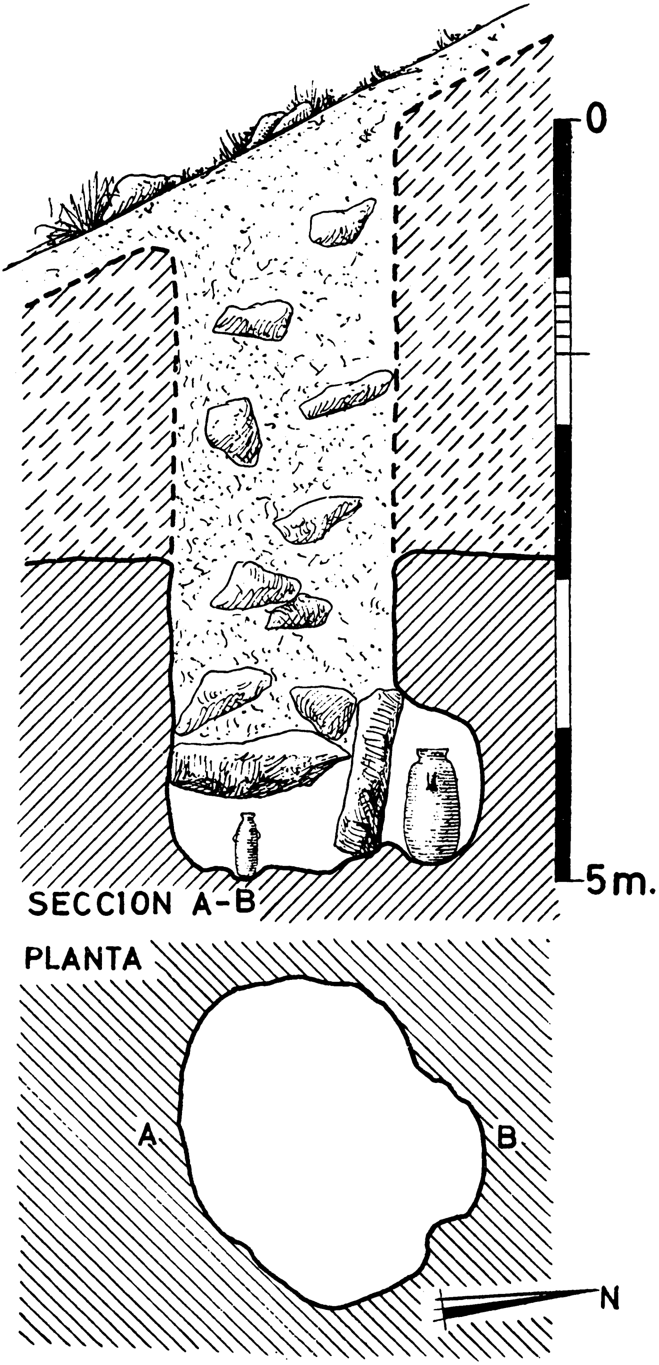
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5m.
SECCION A-B
PLANTA
A
B
N

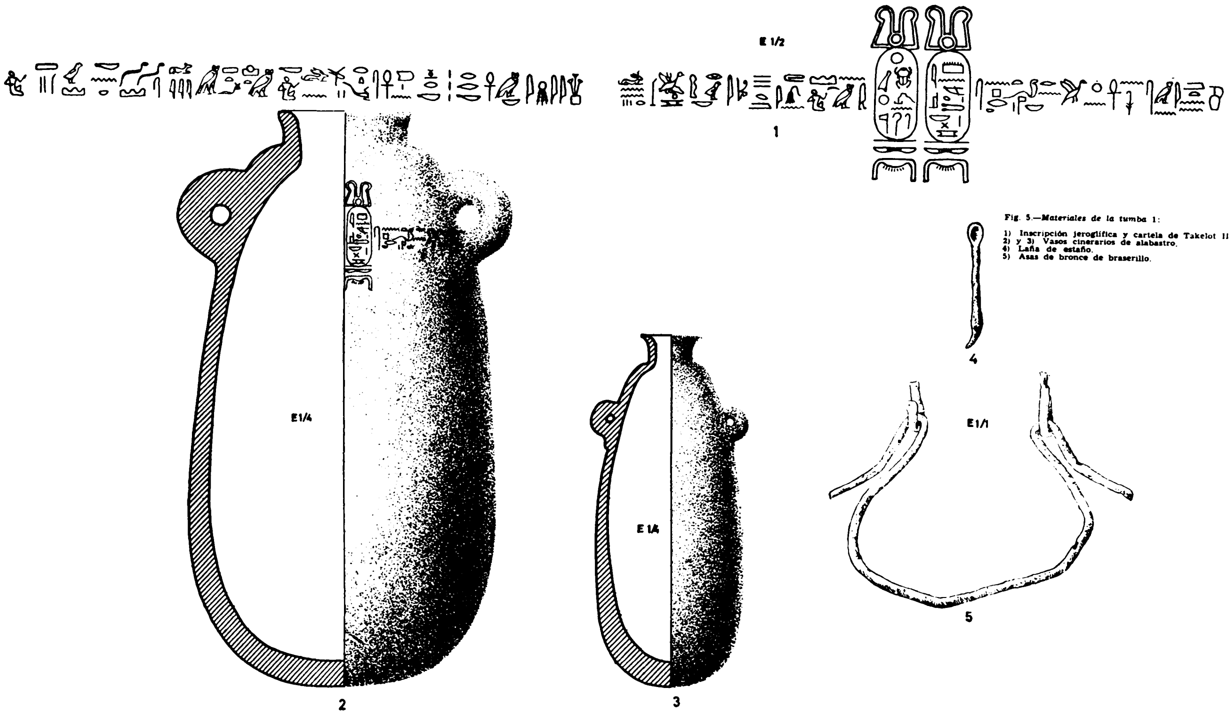
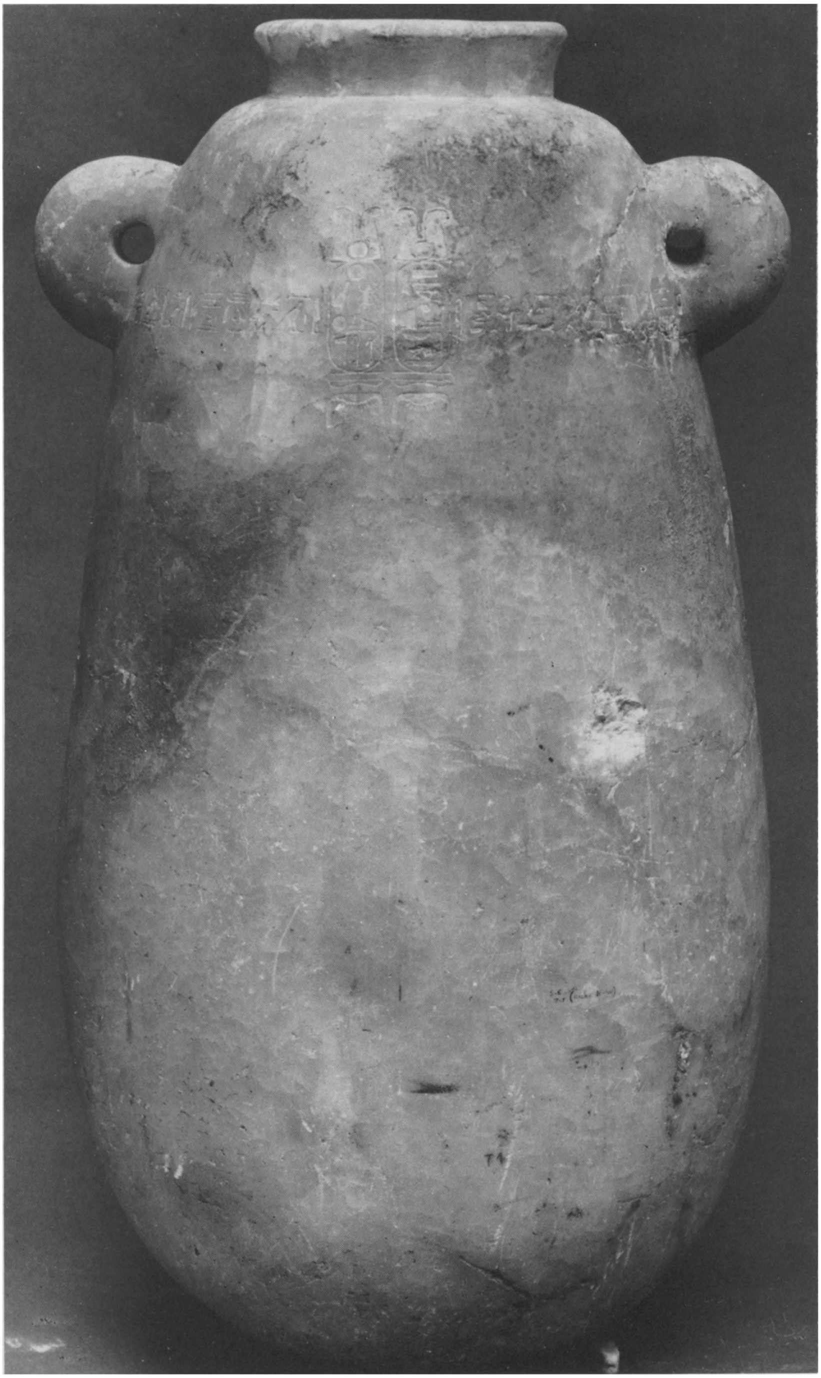

E 1/2
1
E1/4
2
E 1/4
3
4
E 1/1
5

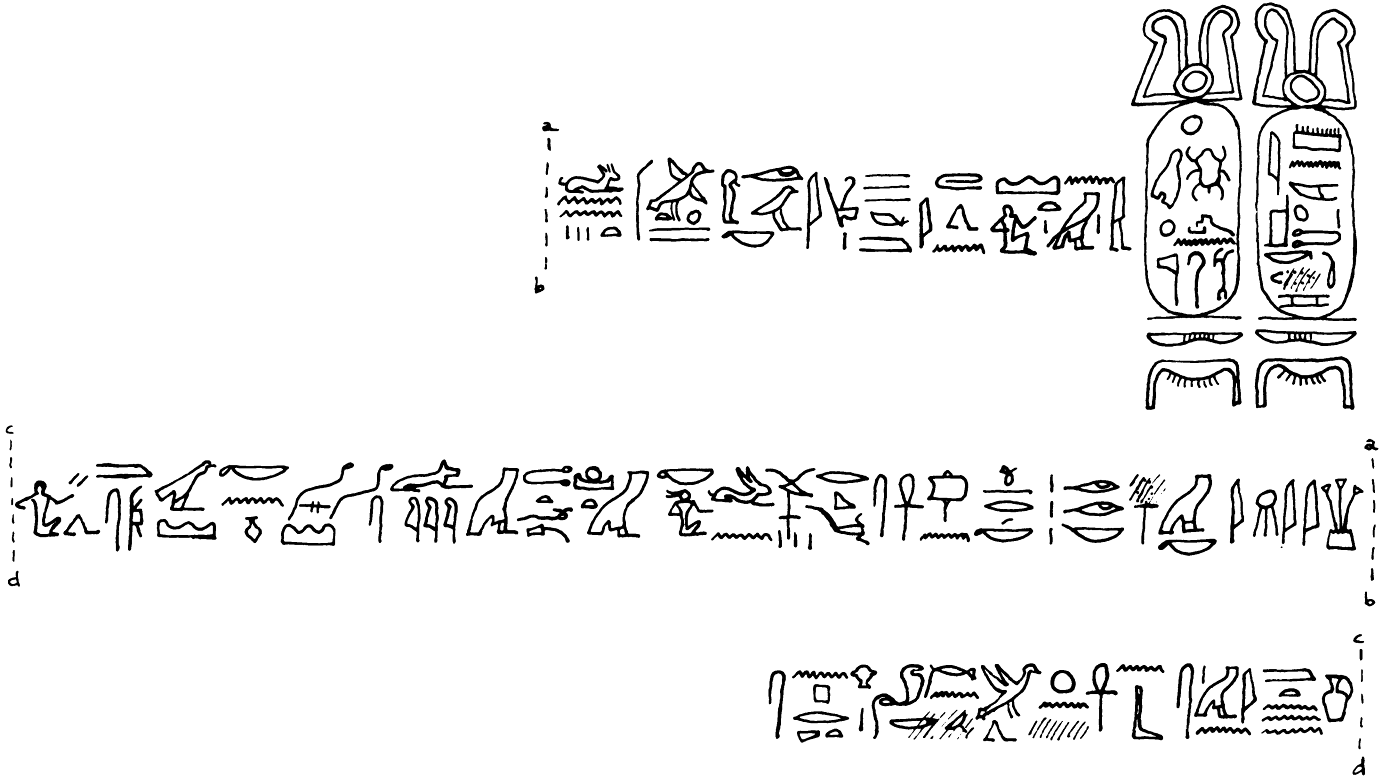
Fig. 5.—*Materiales de la tumba 1:*

1) Inscripción jeroglífica y cartela de Takelot II
2) y 3) Vasos cinerarios de alabastro.
4) Laña de estaño.
5) Asas de bronce de braserillo.



24.06

Plate LXXIX



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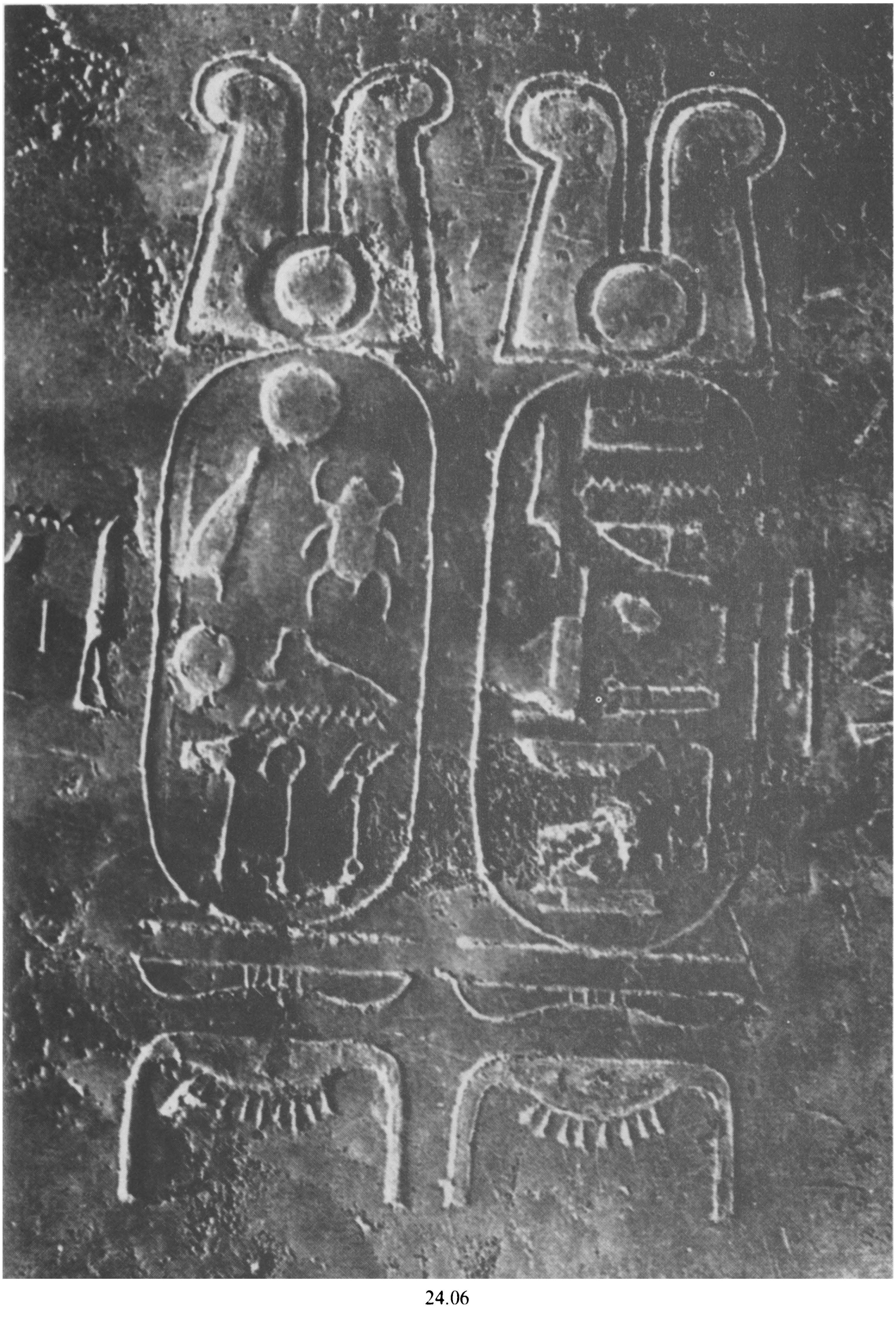
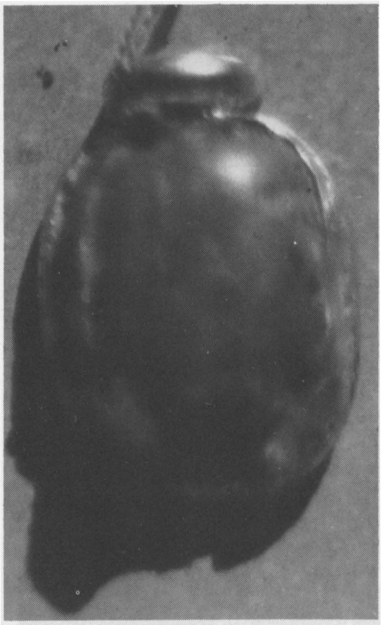


24.06

PLATE LXXXI



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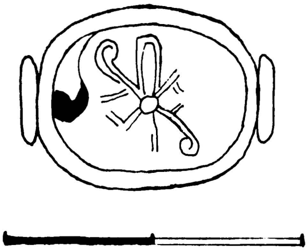

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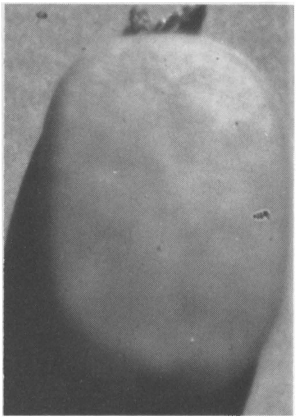

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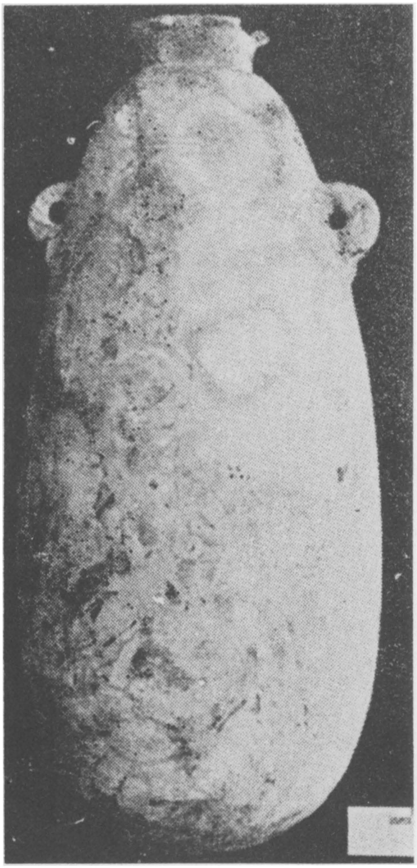

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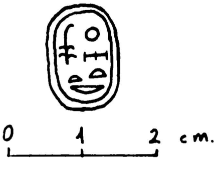

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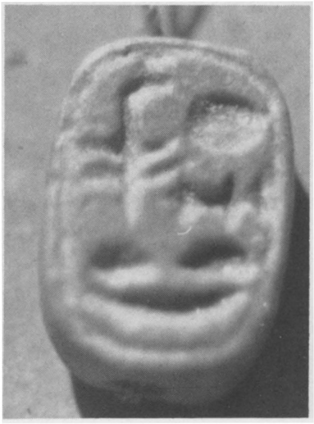

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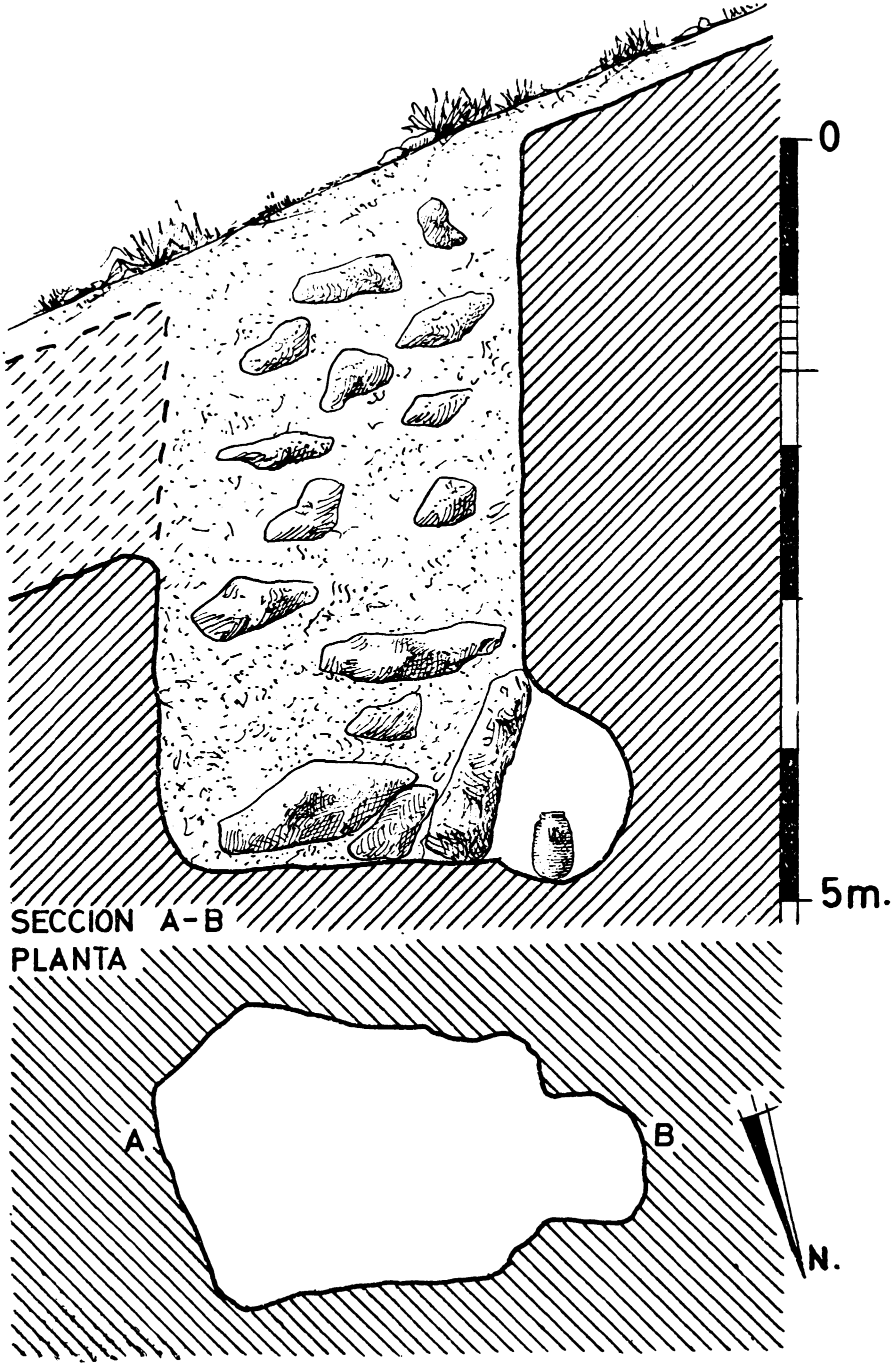
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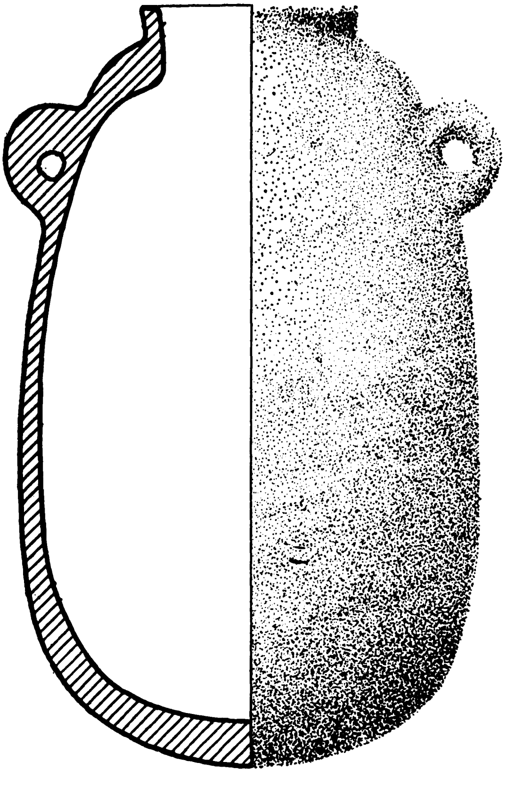
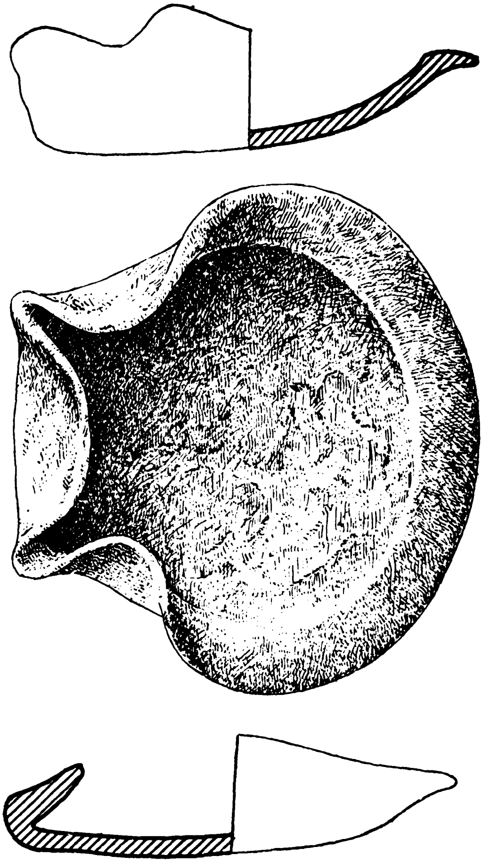
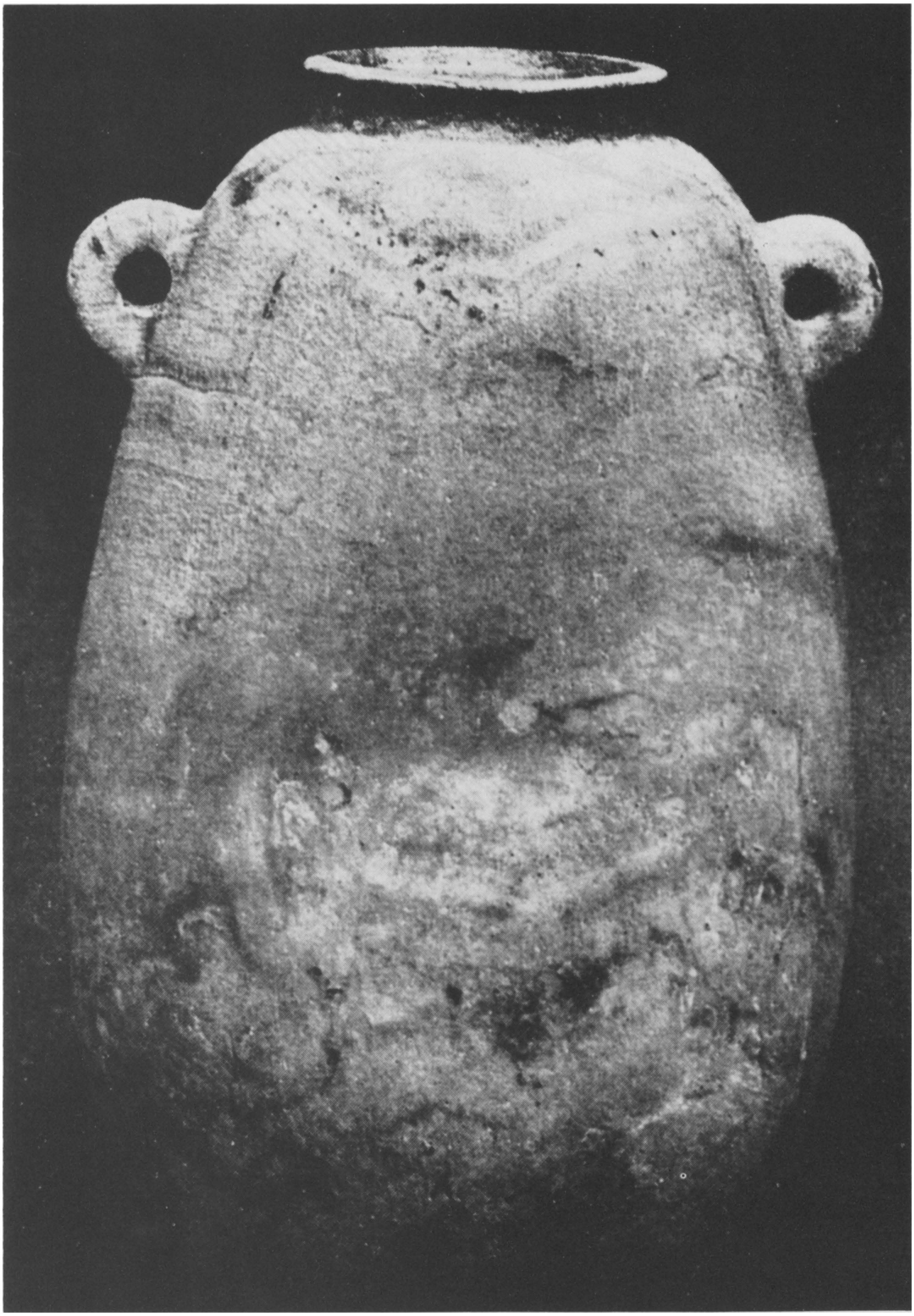
5m.
SECCION A-B
PLANTA
A
B
N.

PLATE LXXXIII







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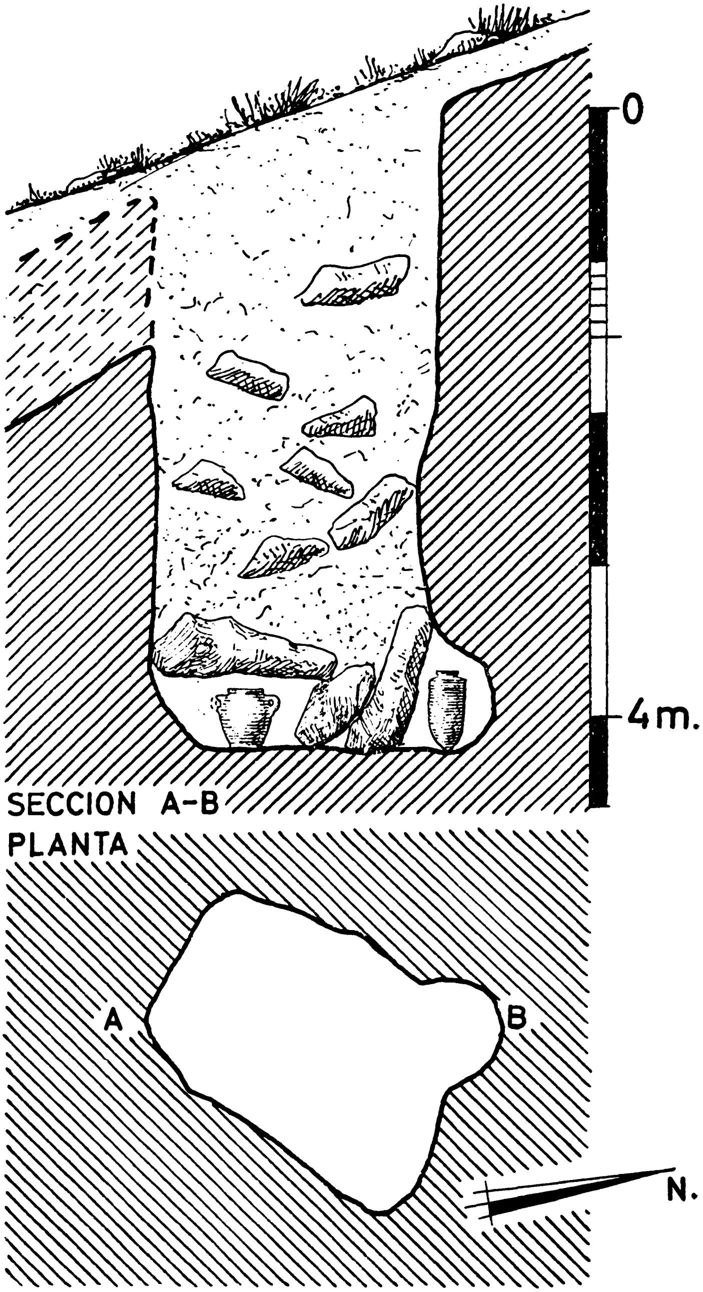
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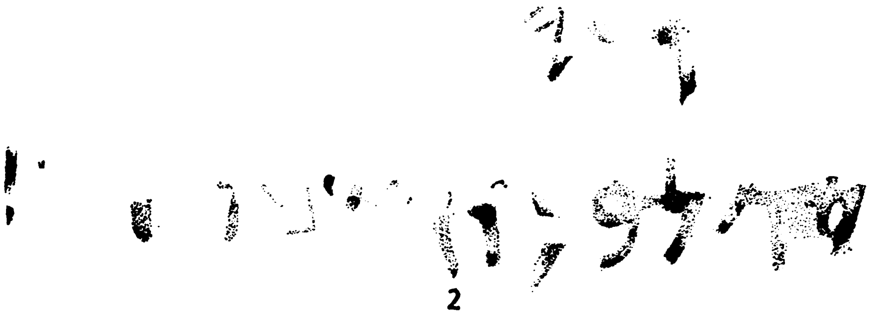
4m.
SECCION A-B
PLANTA
A
B
N.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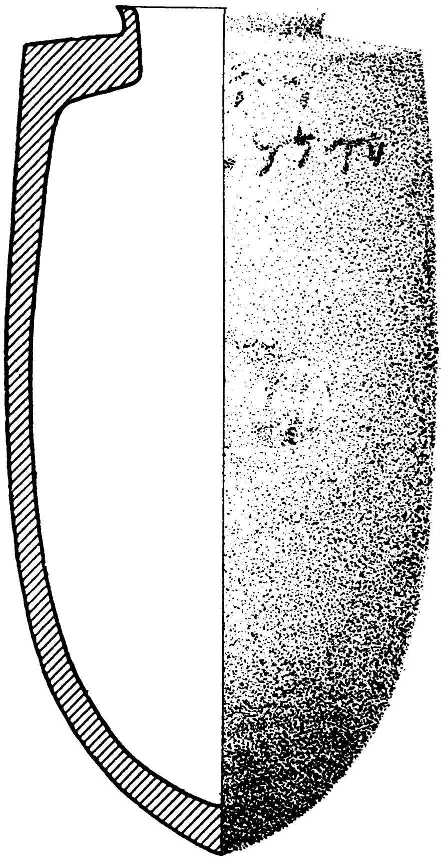
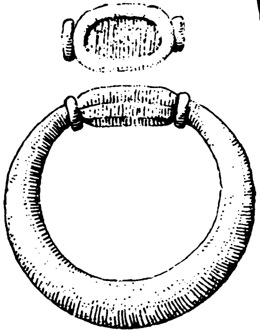
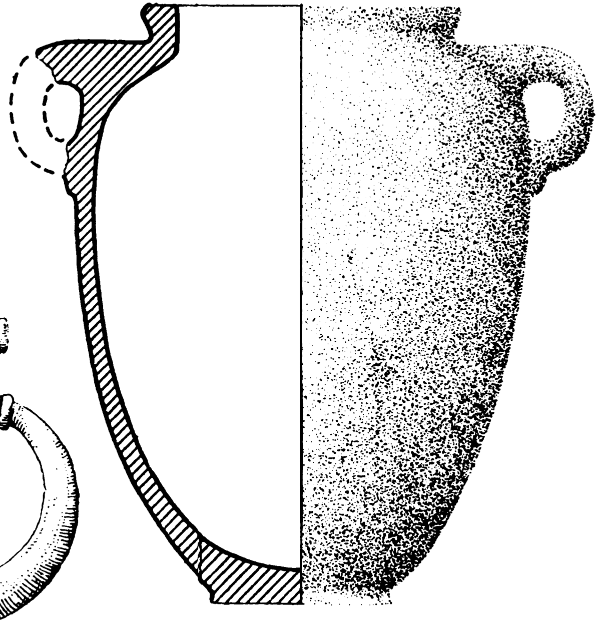
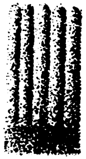








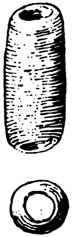
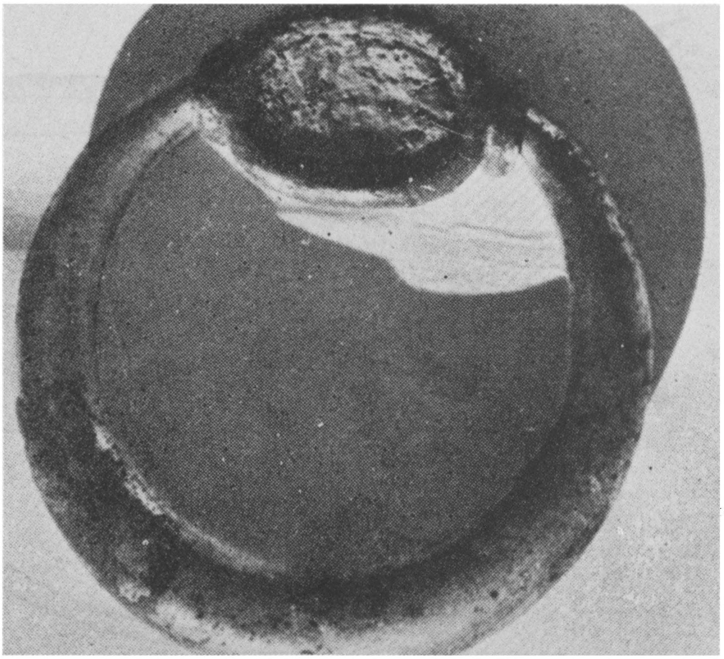


Plate LXXXVII



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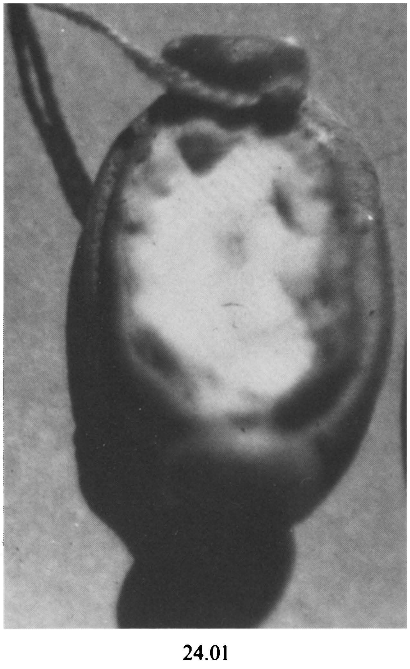
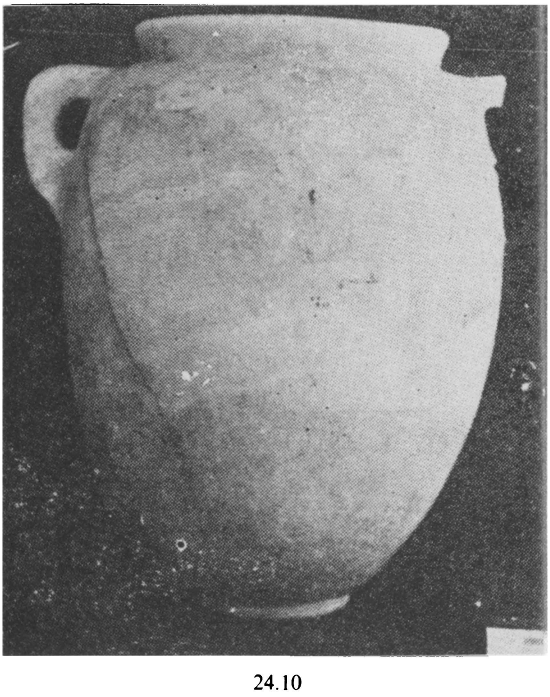


24.01



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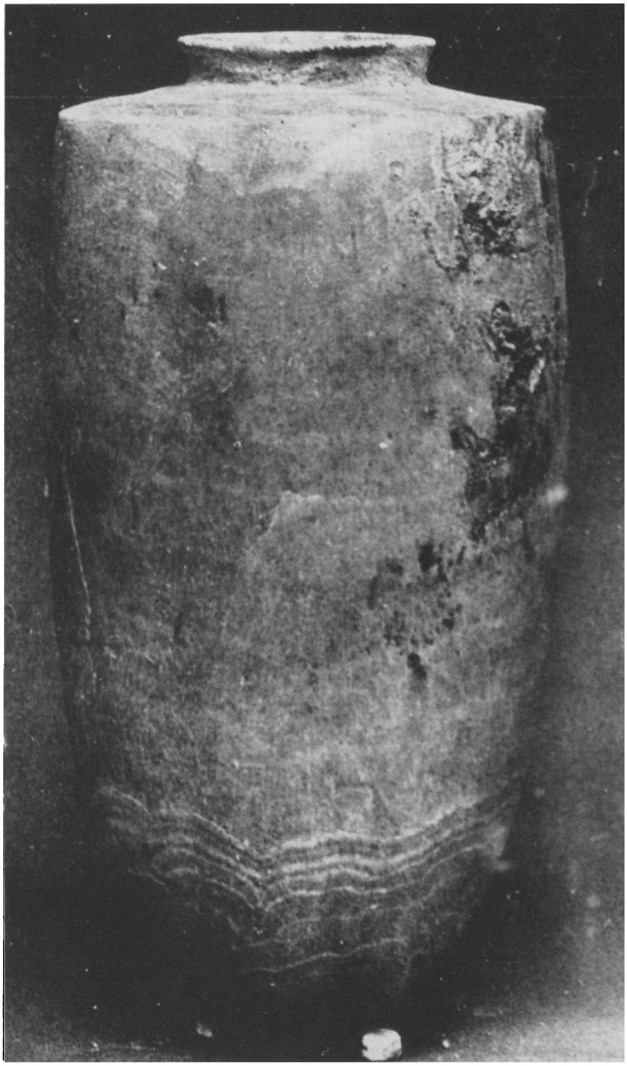

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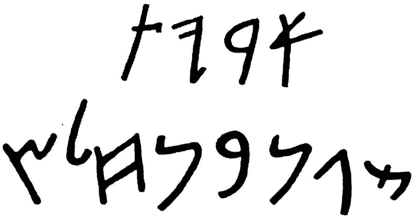
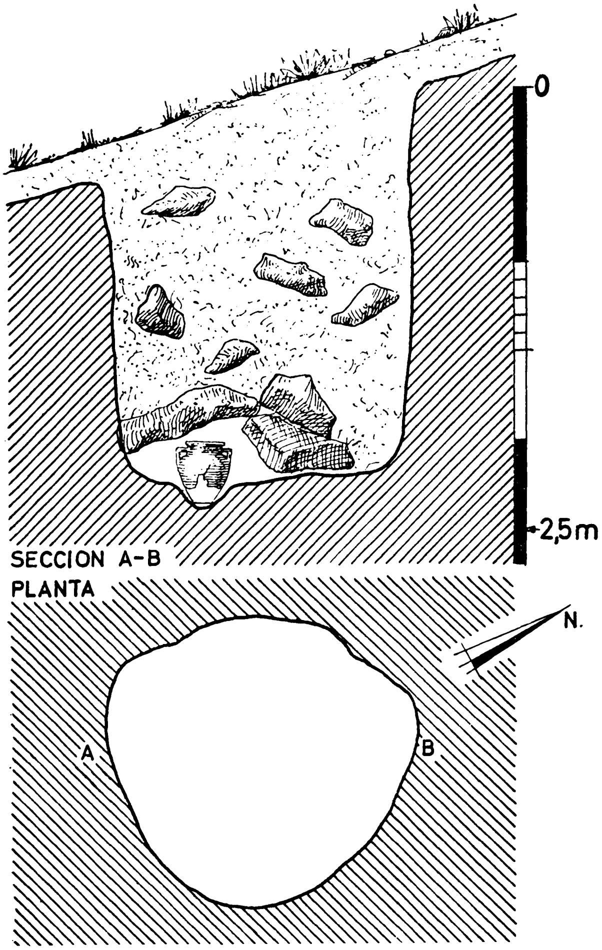
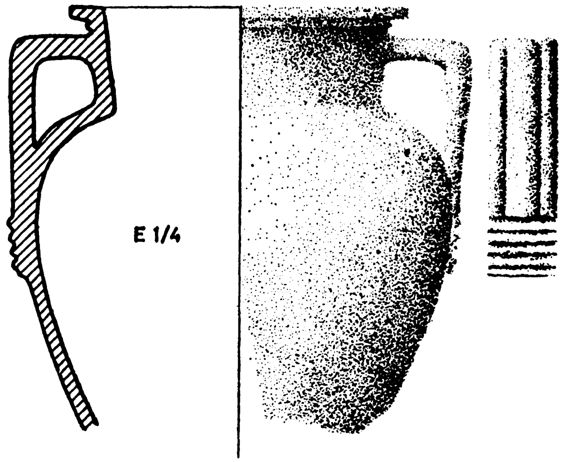
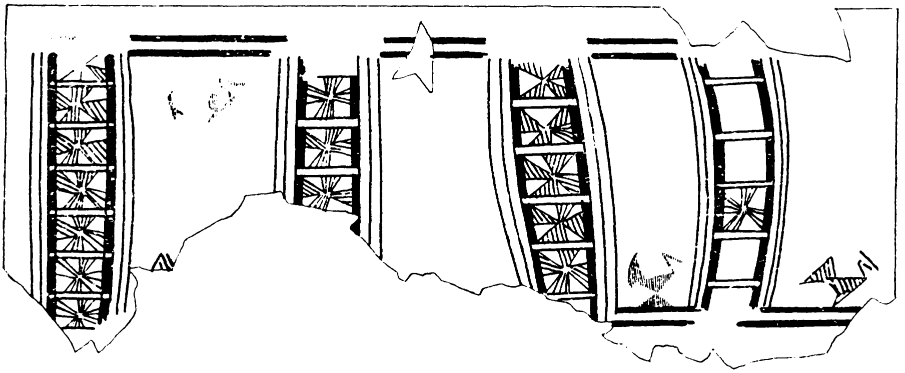


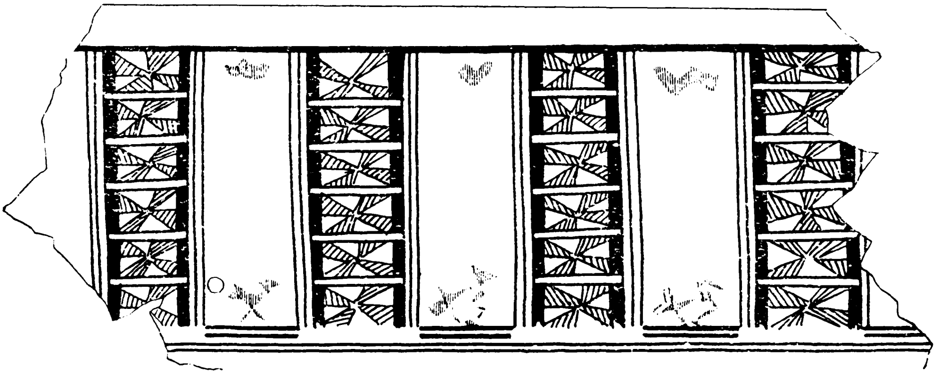
24.09

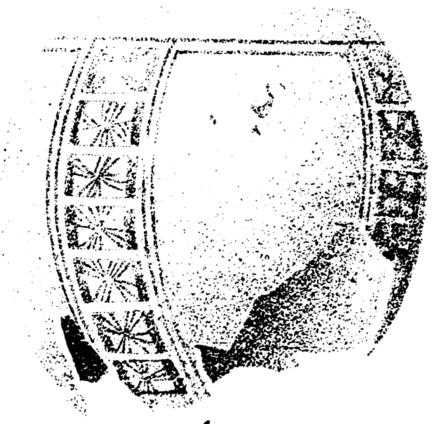
PLATE LXXXIX


0
2,5m
SECCION A-B
PLANTA
N.
A
B









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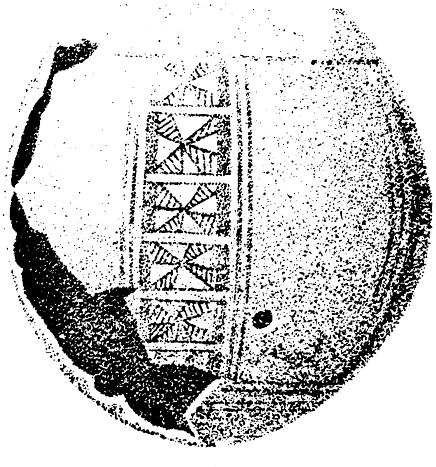

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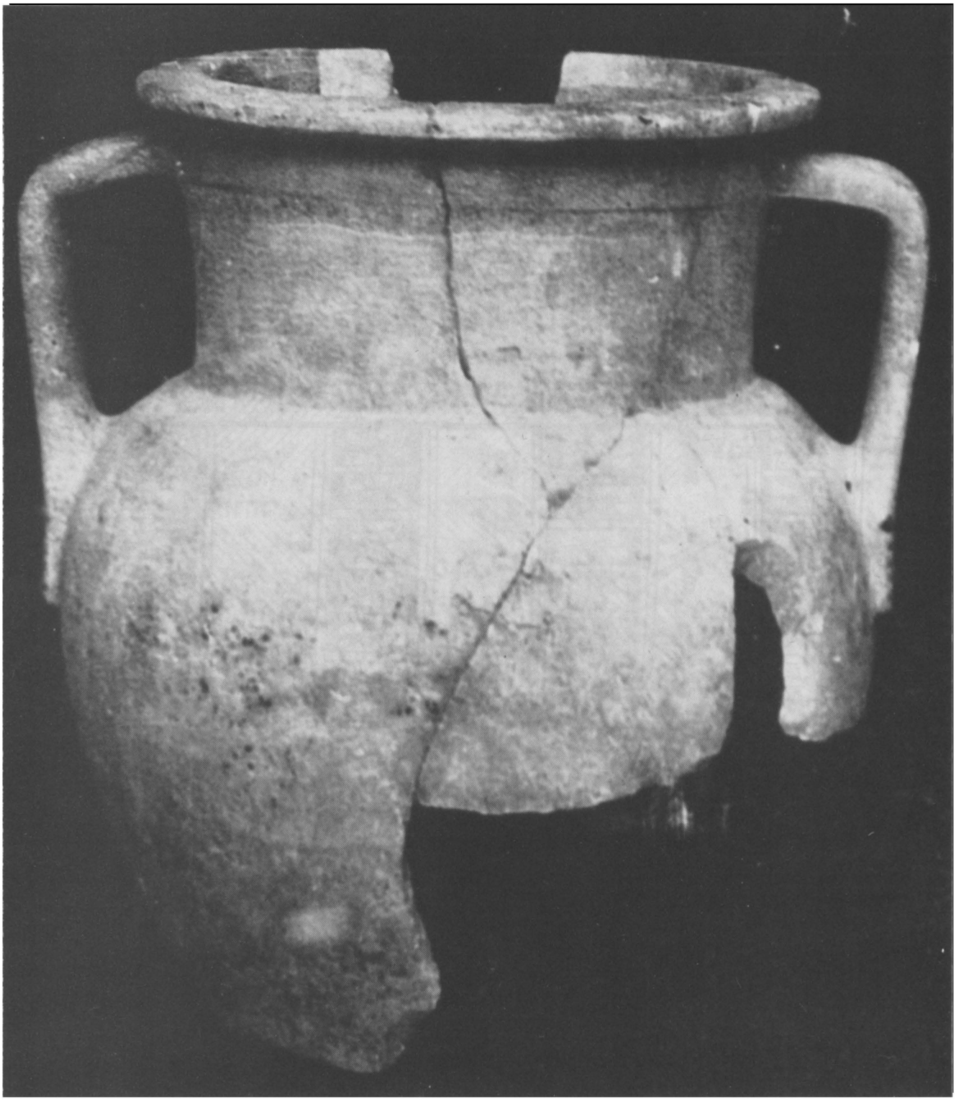

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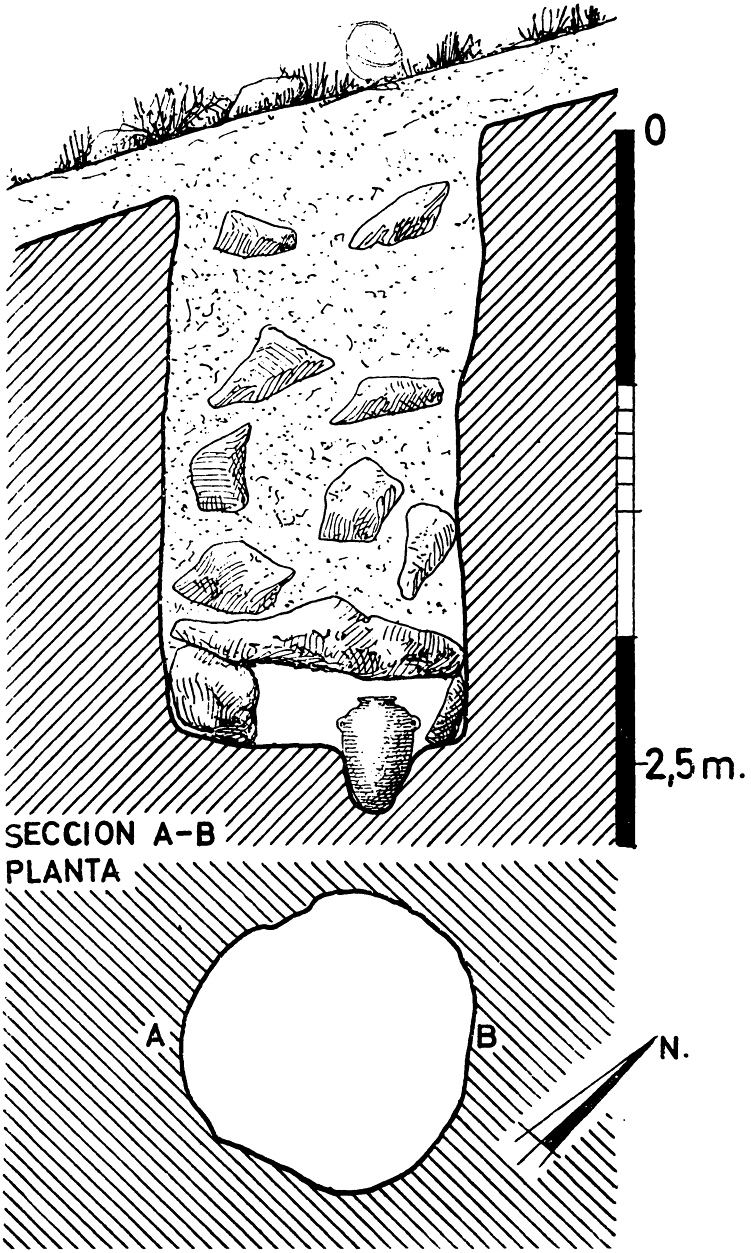
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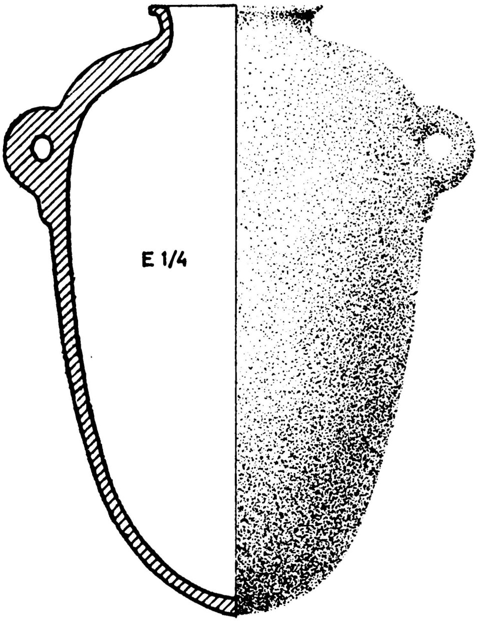
2,5 m.
SECCION A-B
PLANTA
A
B
N.



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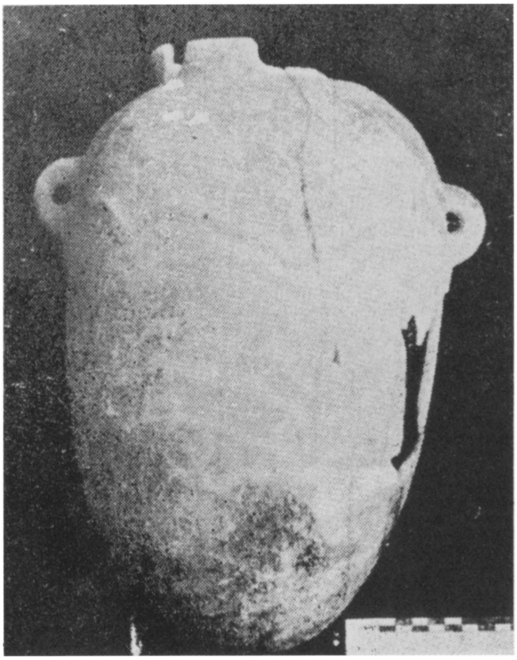
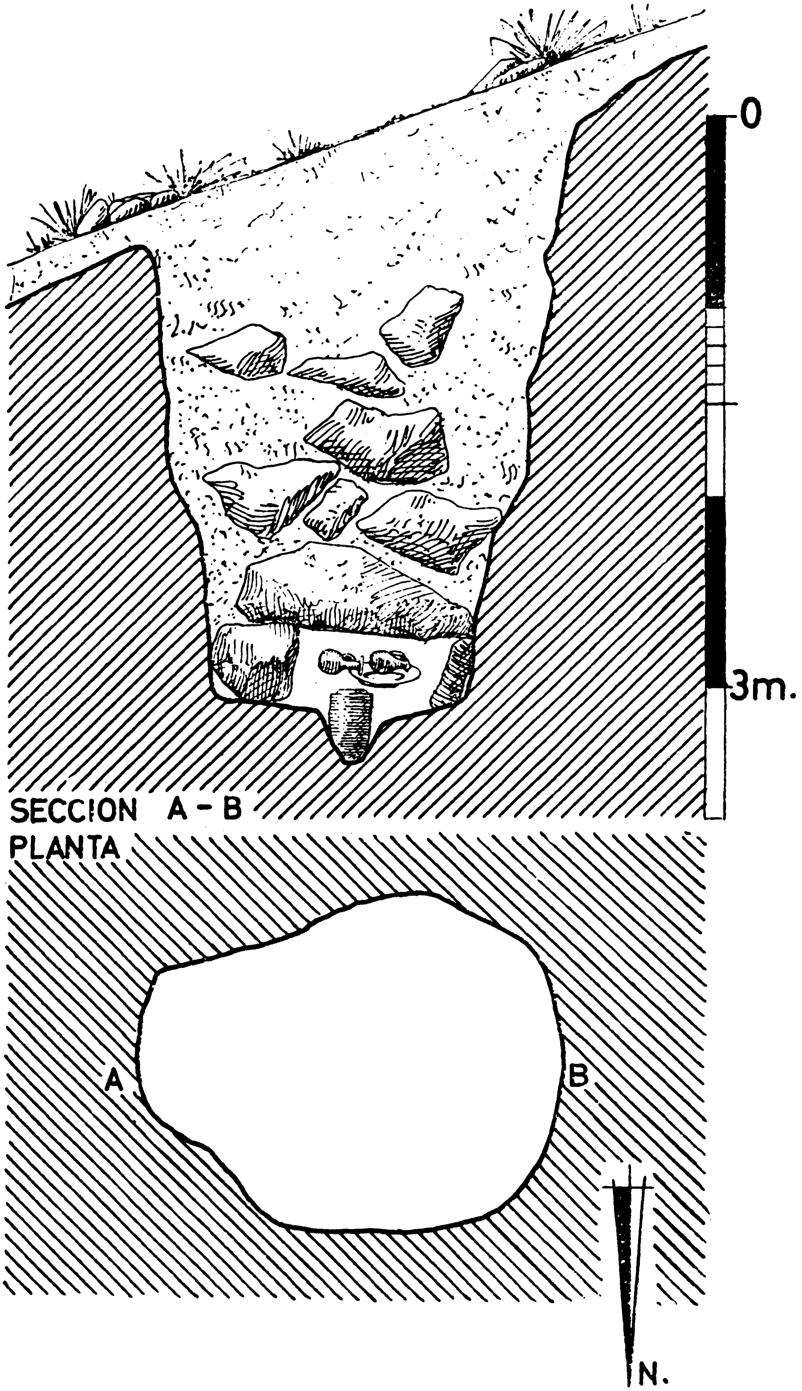


24.13

PLATE XCIV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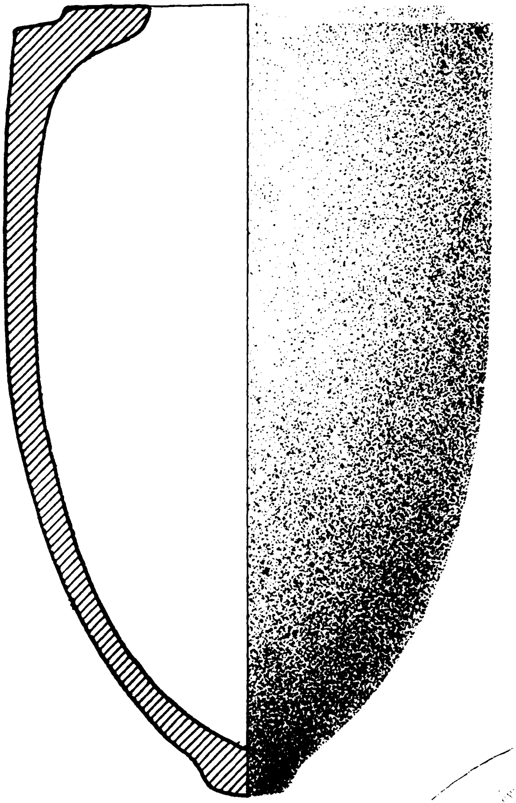
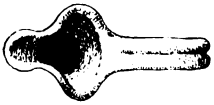
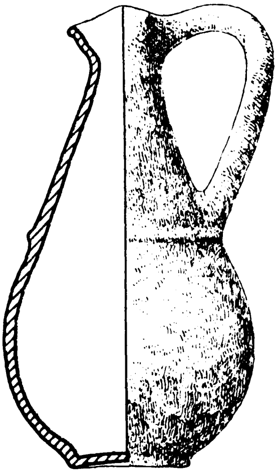
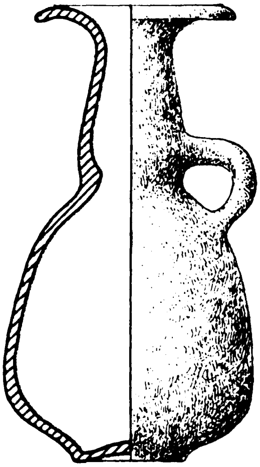
3m.
SECCION A - B
PLANTA
A
B
N.

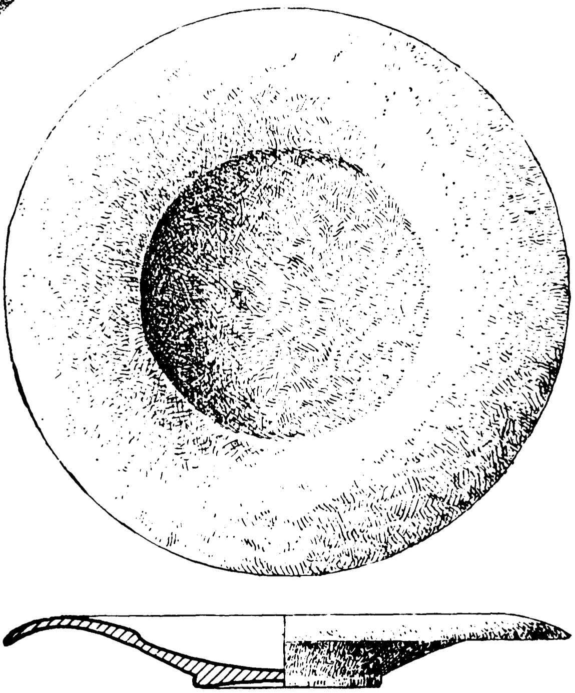
PLATE XCV

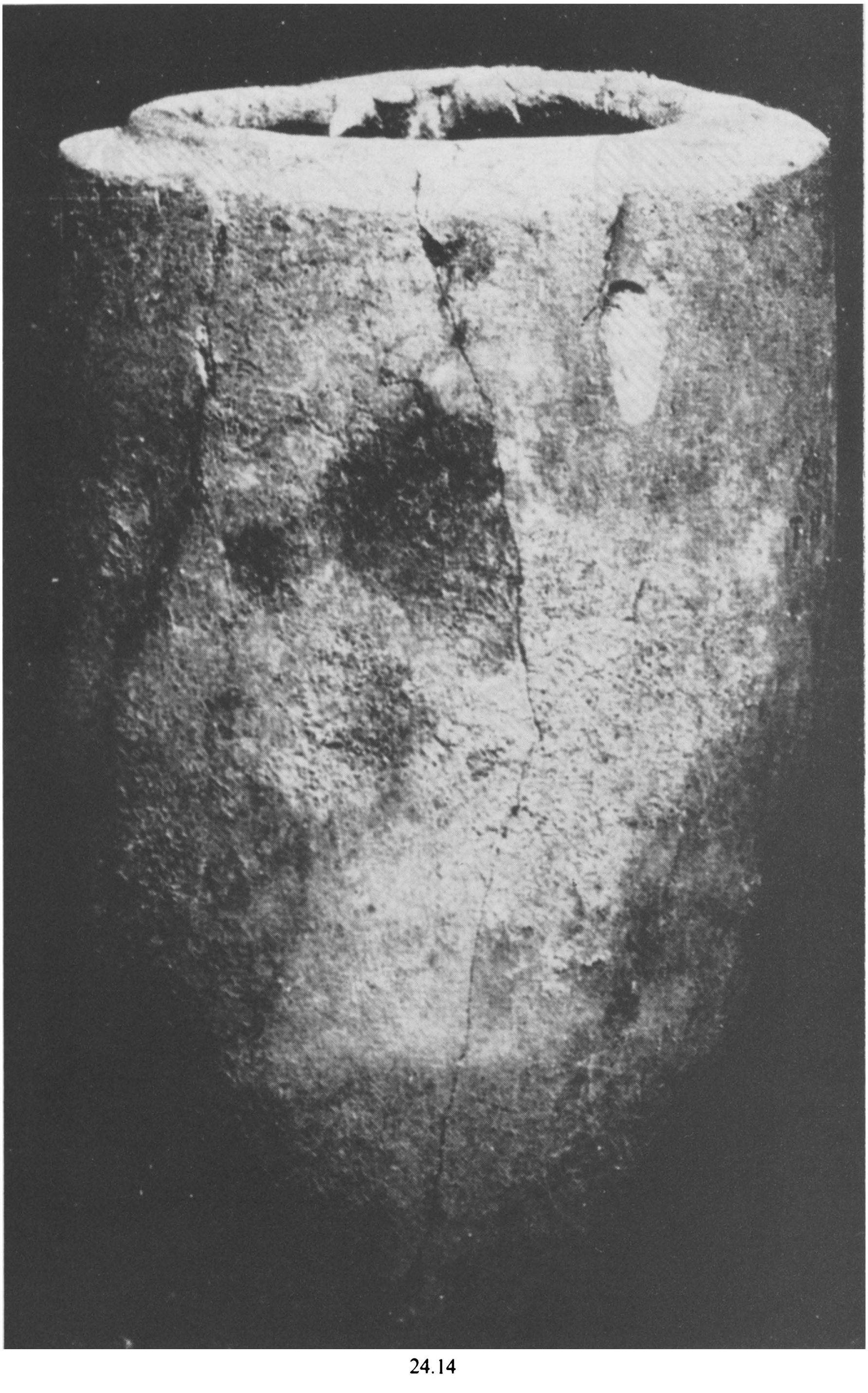




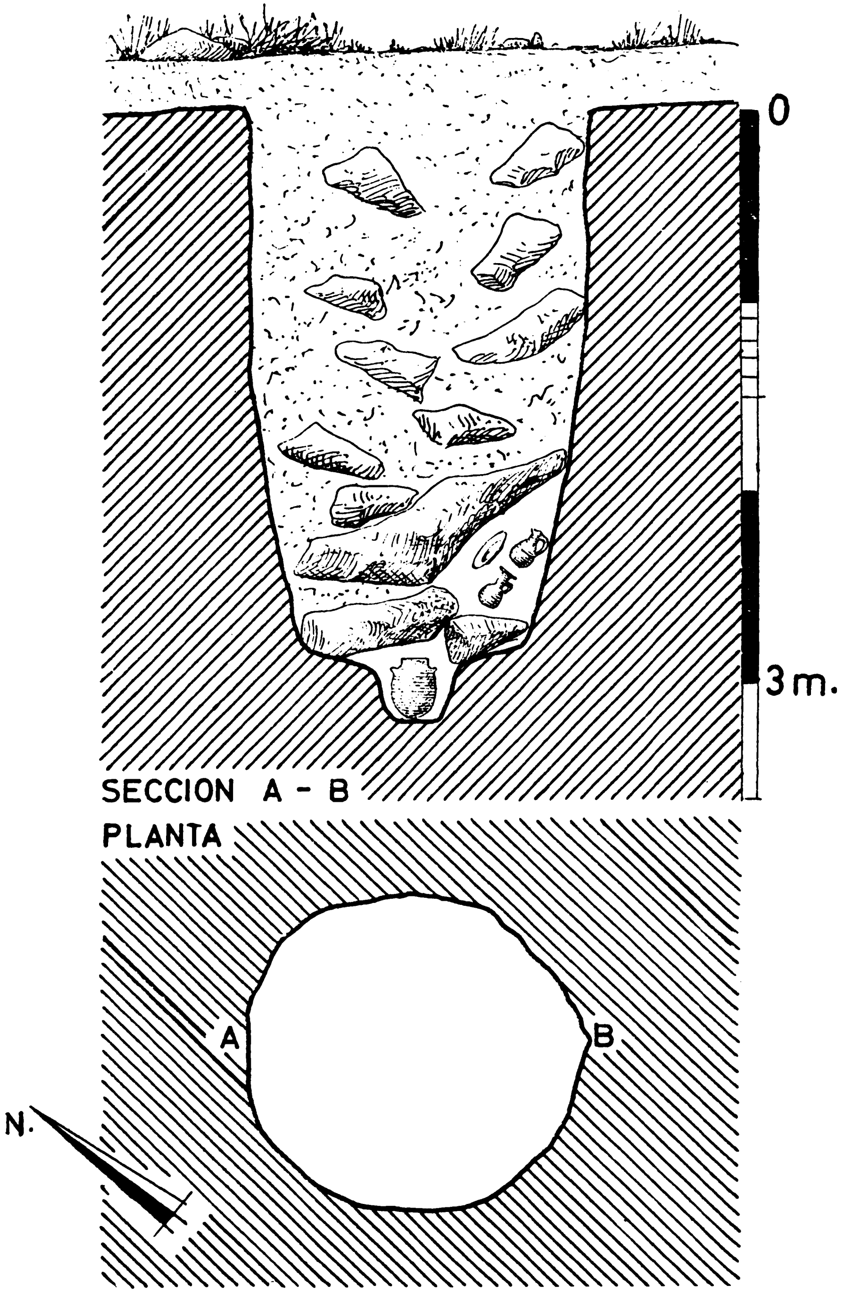








24.14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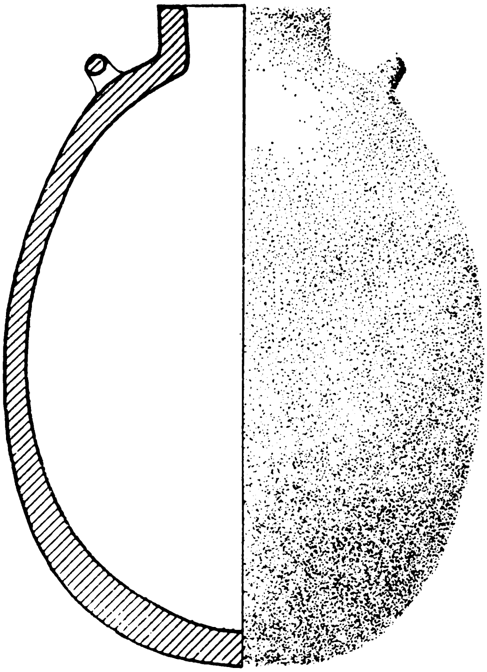
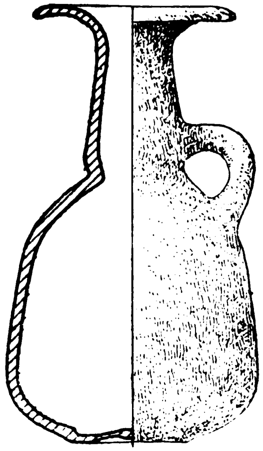
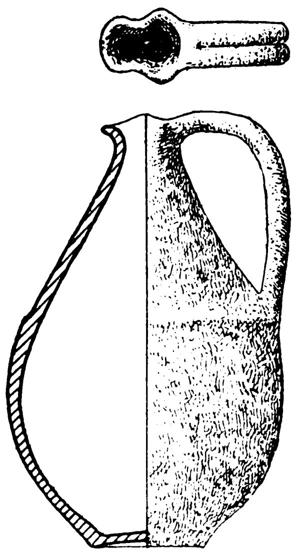
3 m.
SECCION A - B
PLANTA
A
B
N.







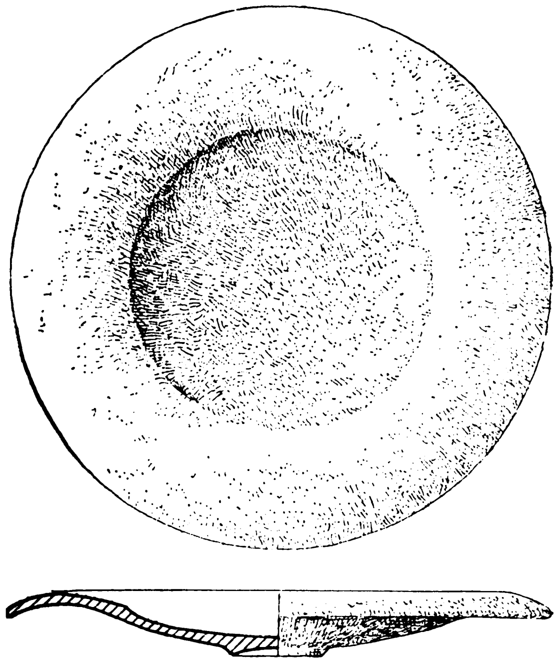
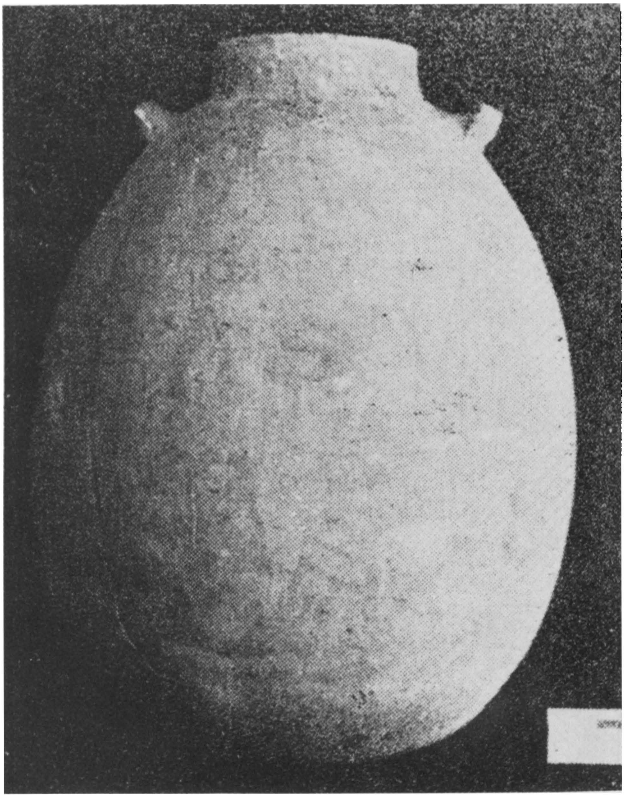


PLATE XCIX



24.15

PLATE C

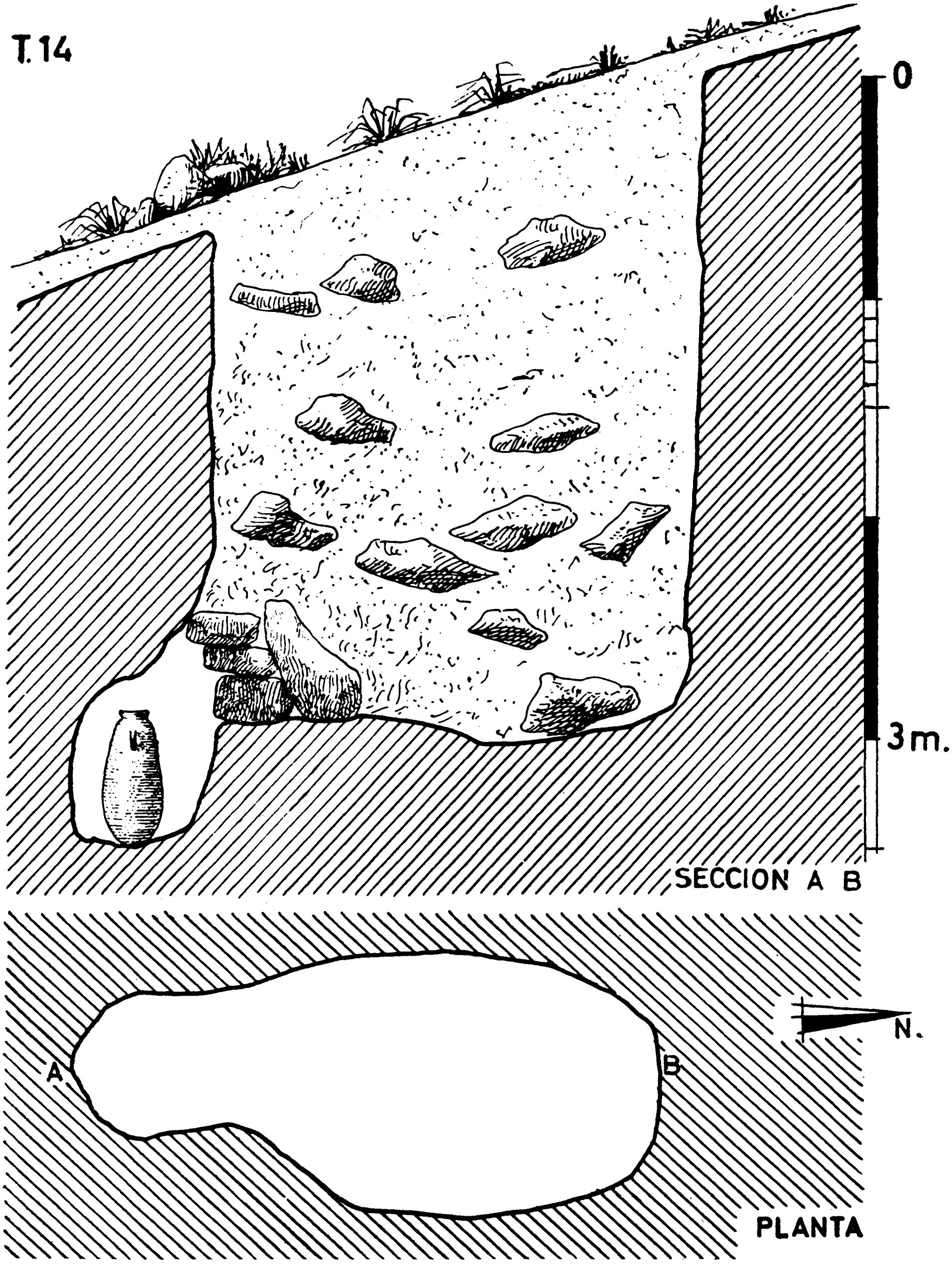
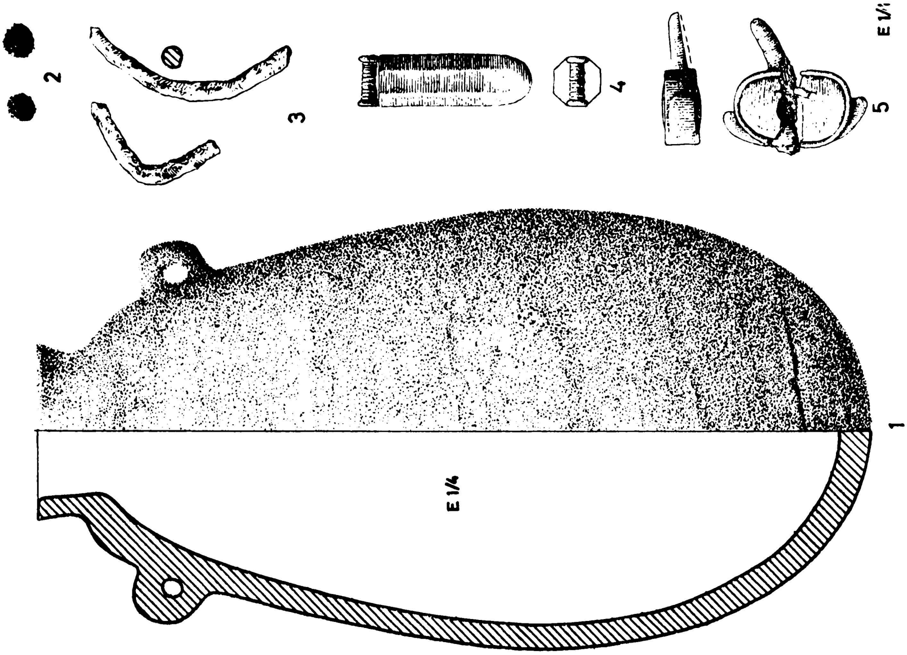
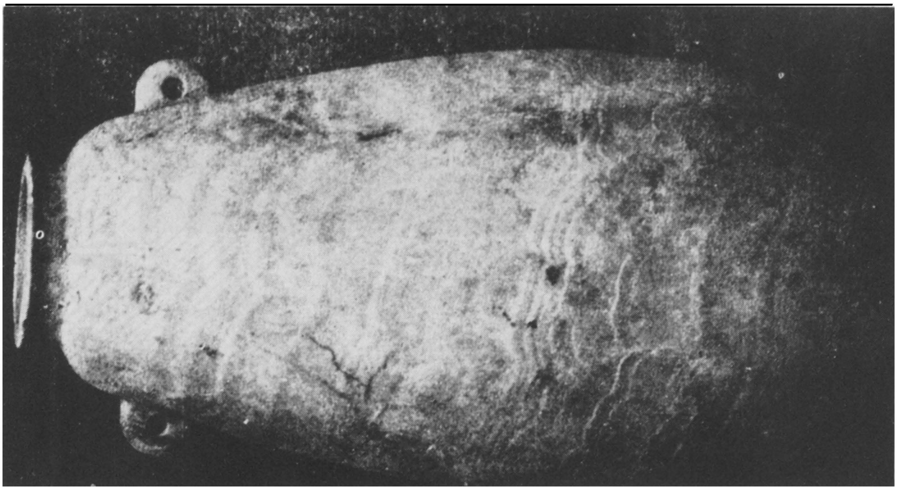

T. 14
0
3m.
SECCION A B
A
B
N.
PLANTA

PLATE CI


2
3
4
5
E 1/1
1
E 1/4



24.16

PLATE CII

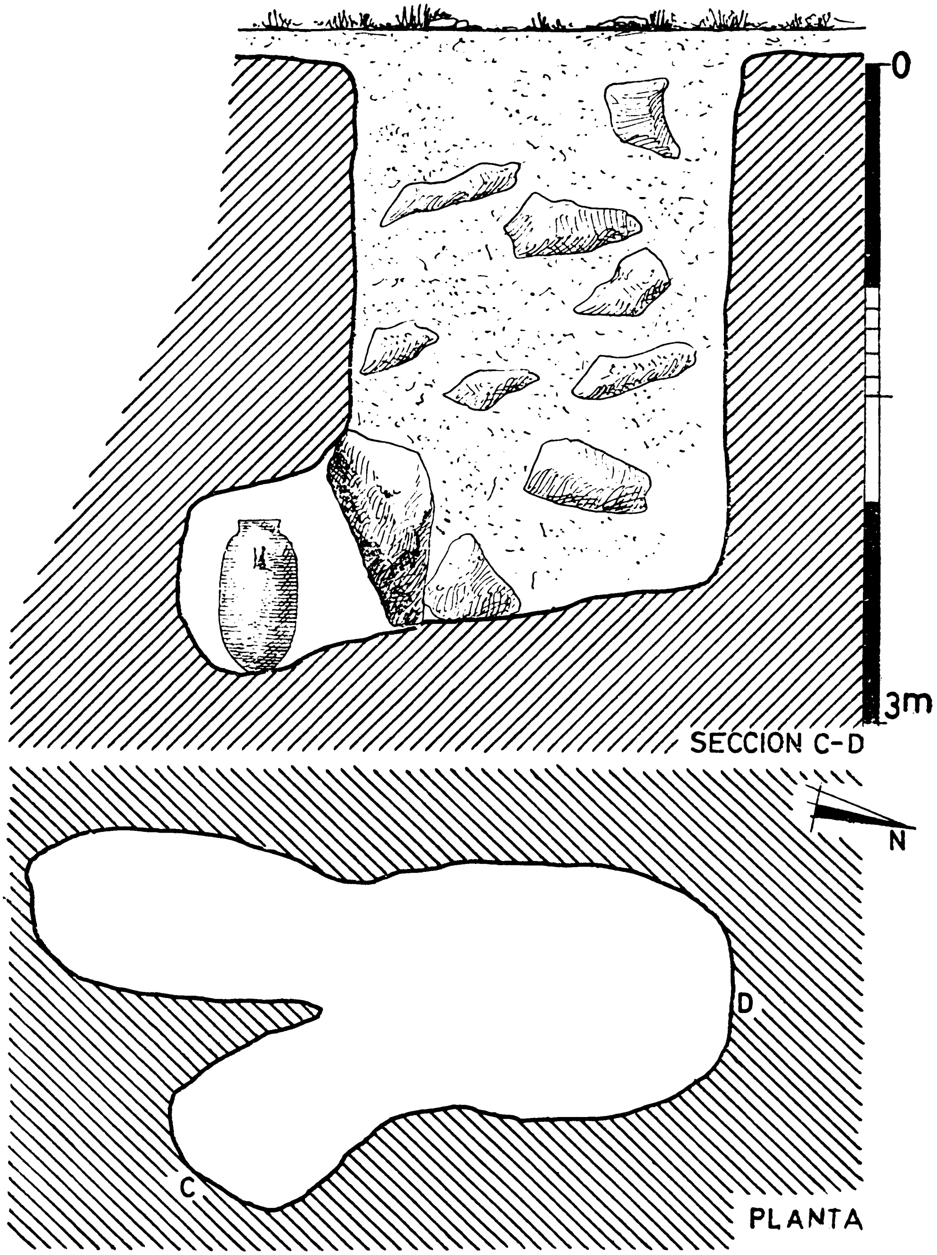

0
3m
SECCION C-D
N
D
C
PLANTA

PLATE CIII

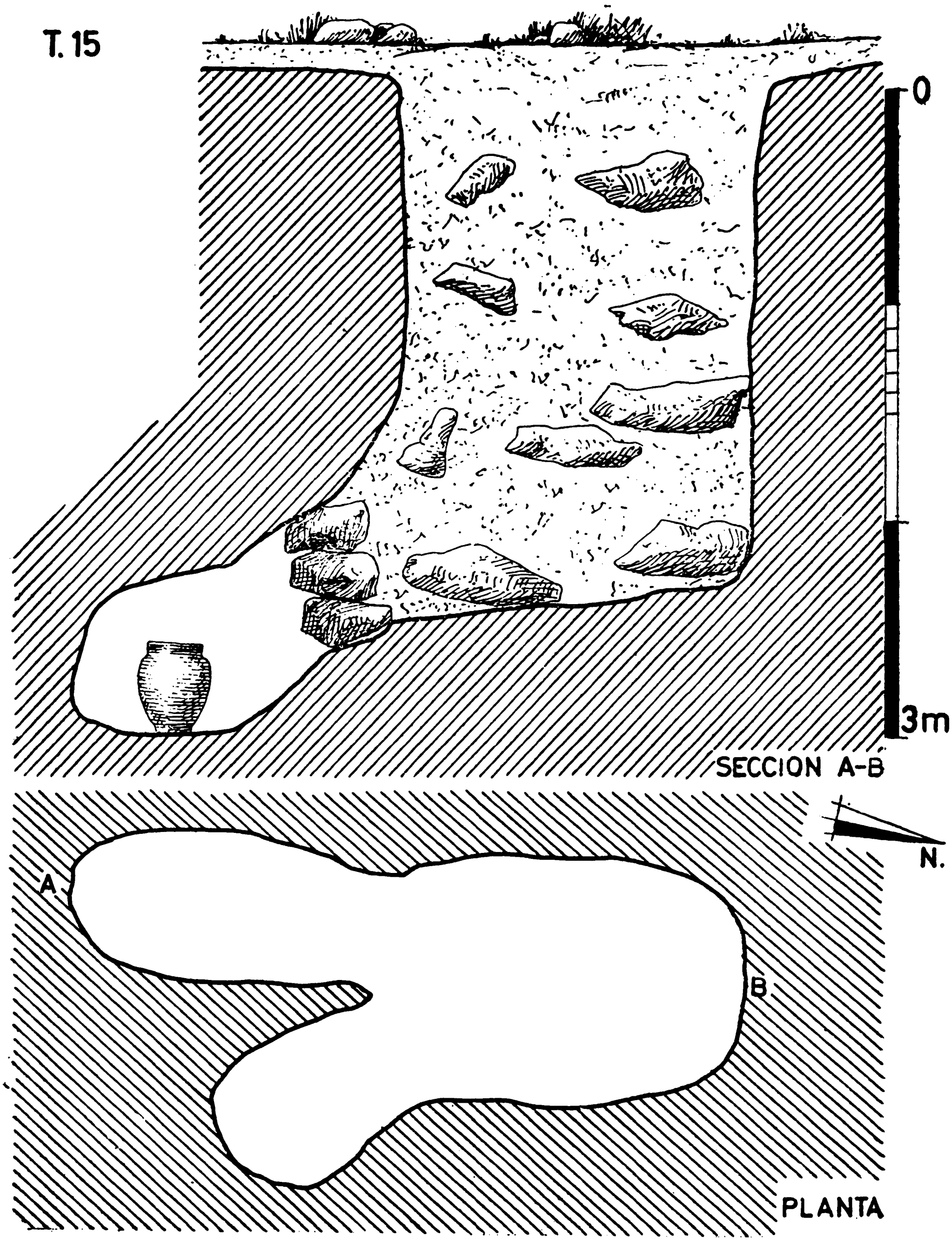
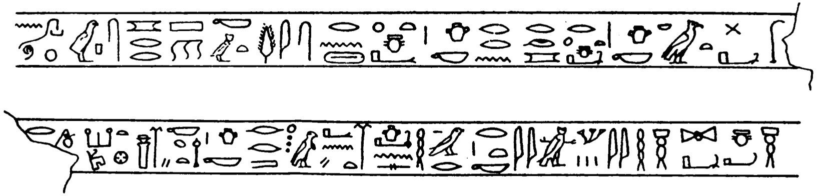
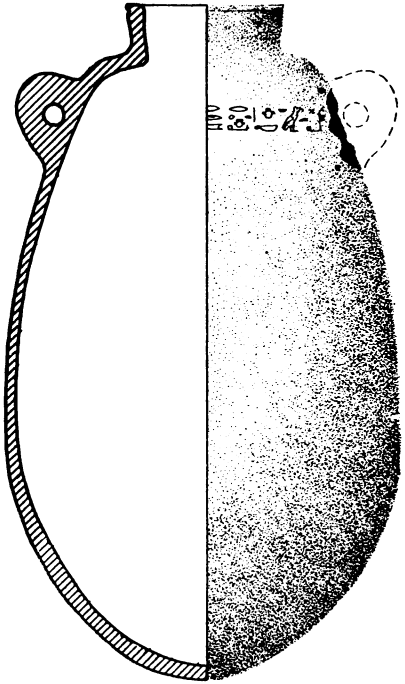
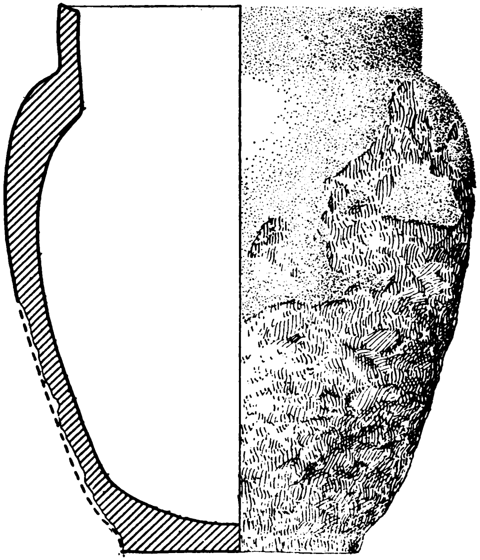
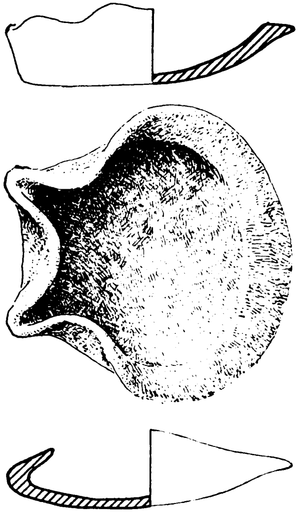

T. 15
0
3m.
SECCION A-B
N.
A
B
PLANTA

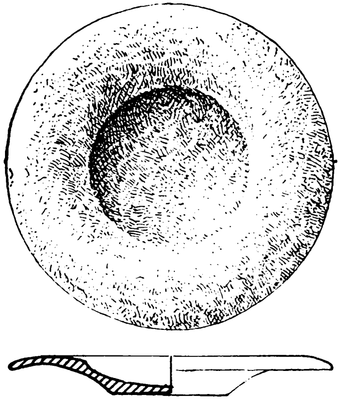
PLATE CIV

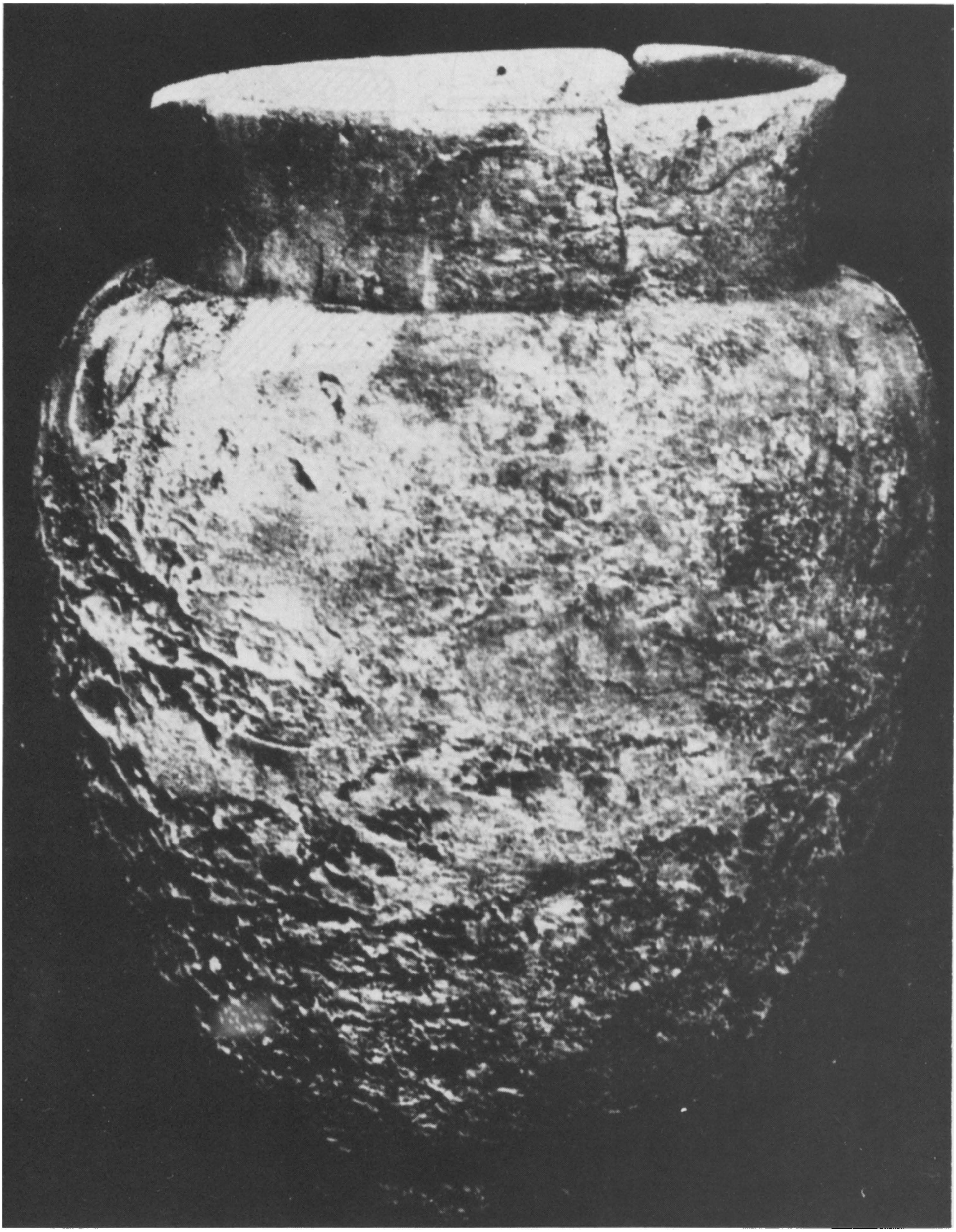




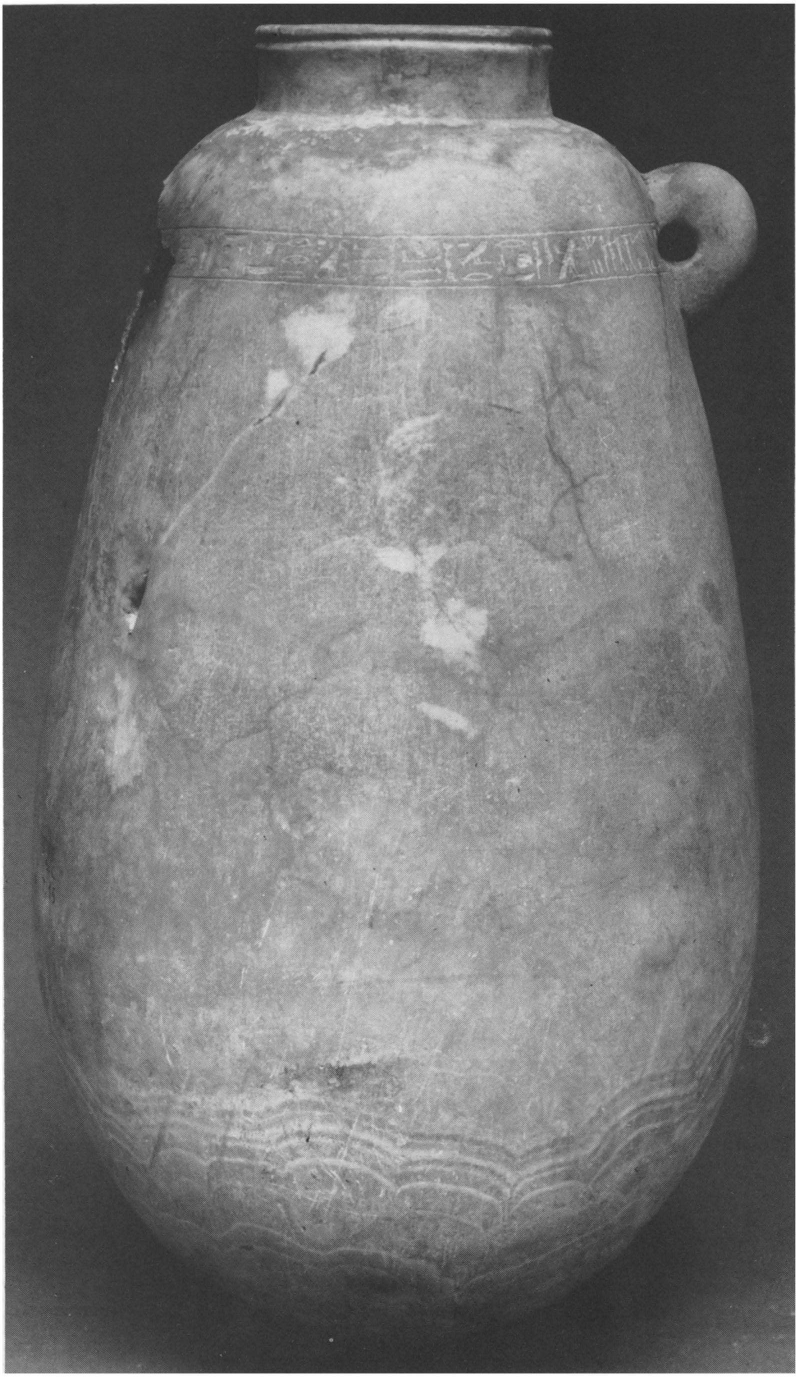






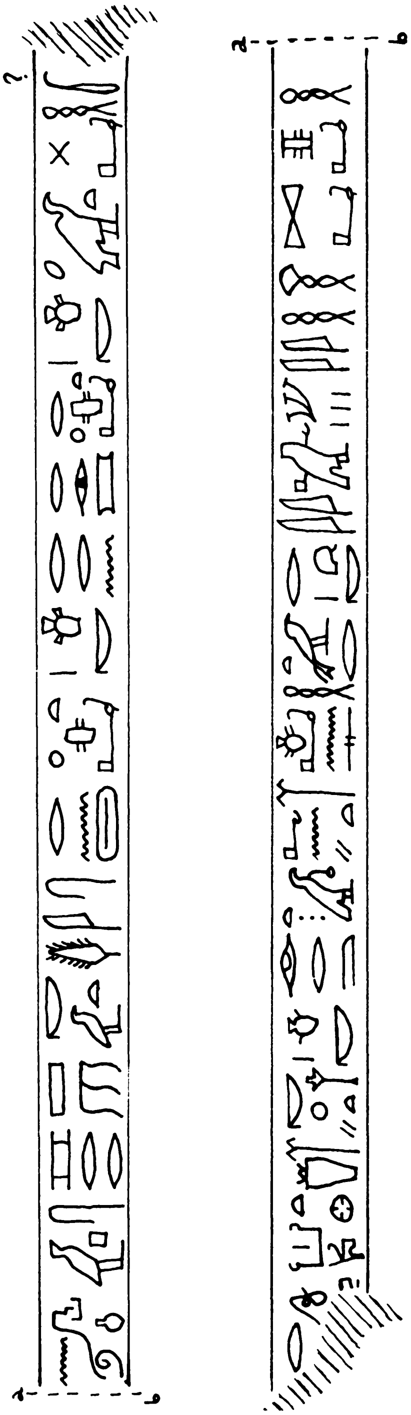


24.18

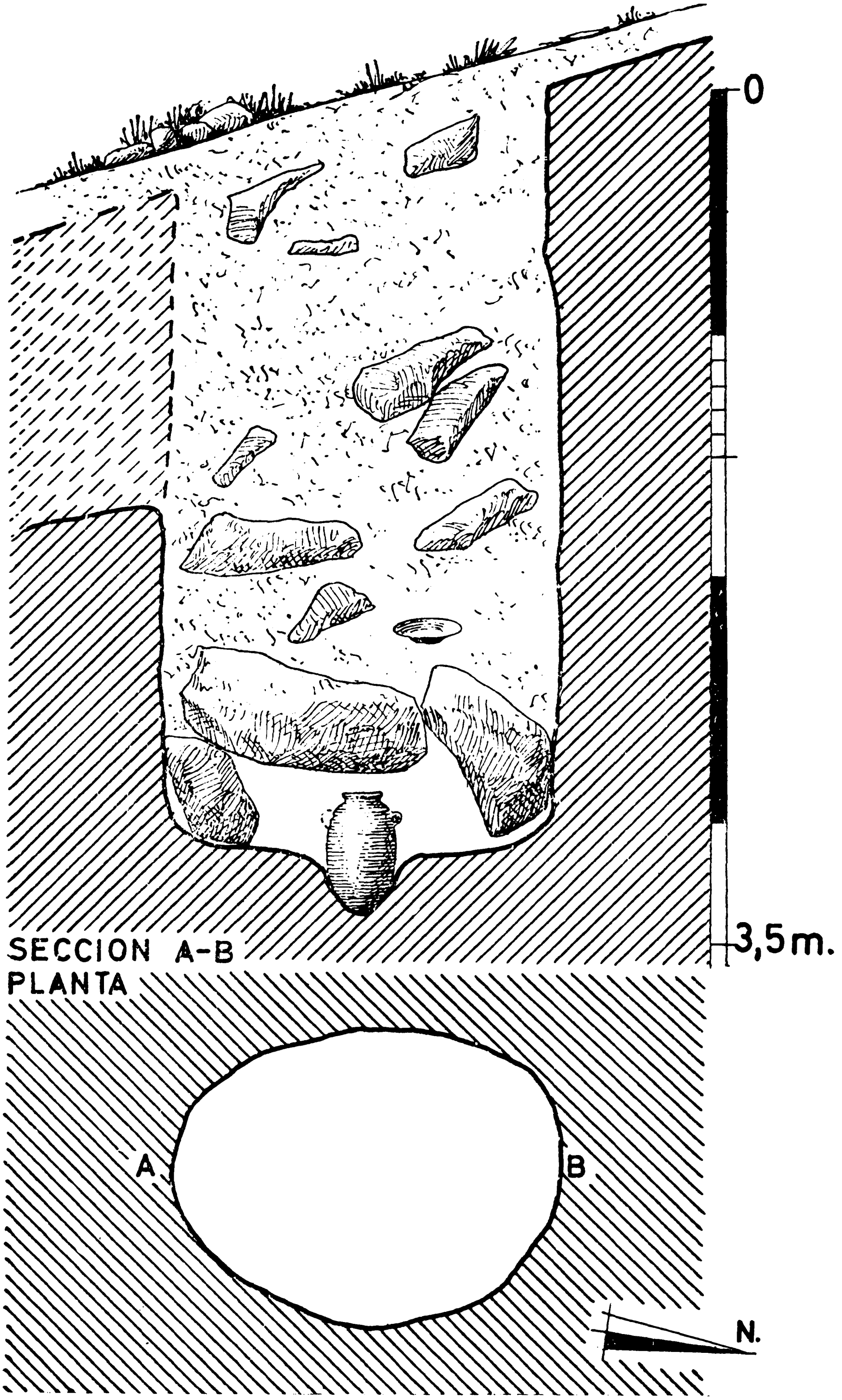


24.17

PLATE CVII



24.17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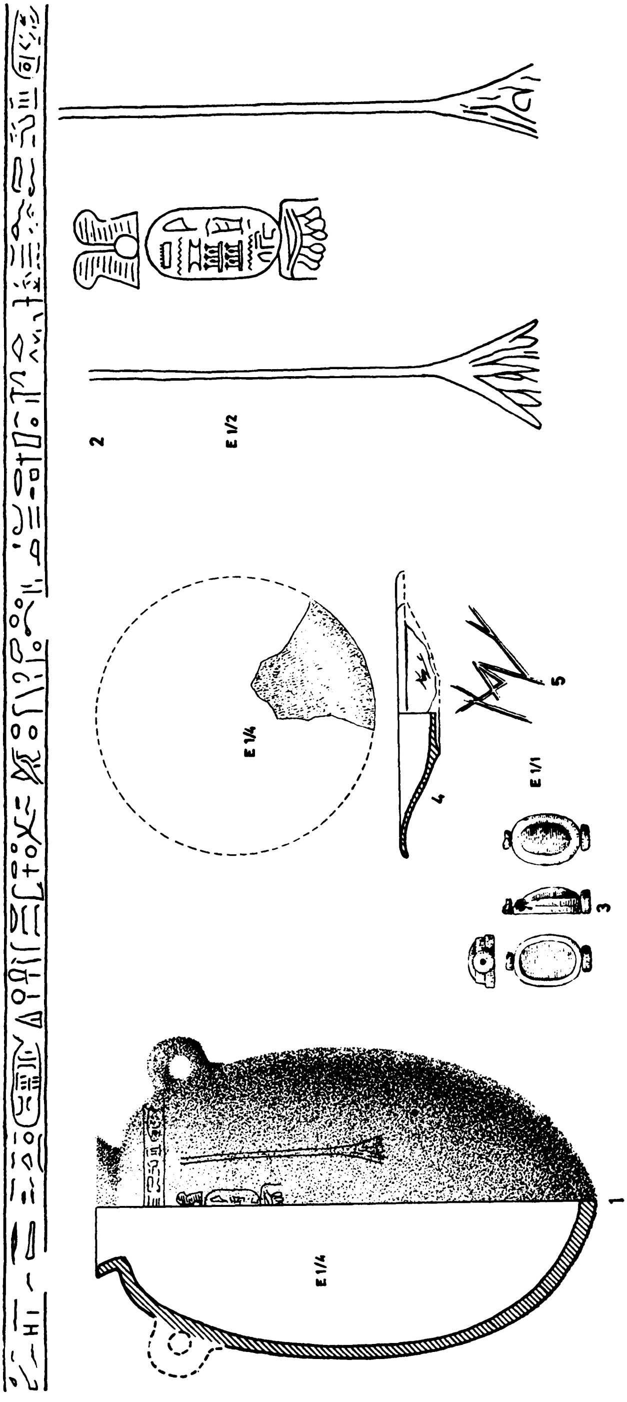
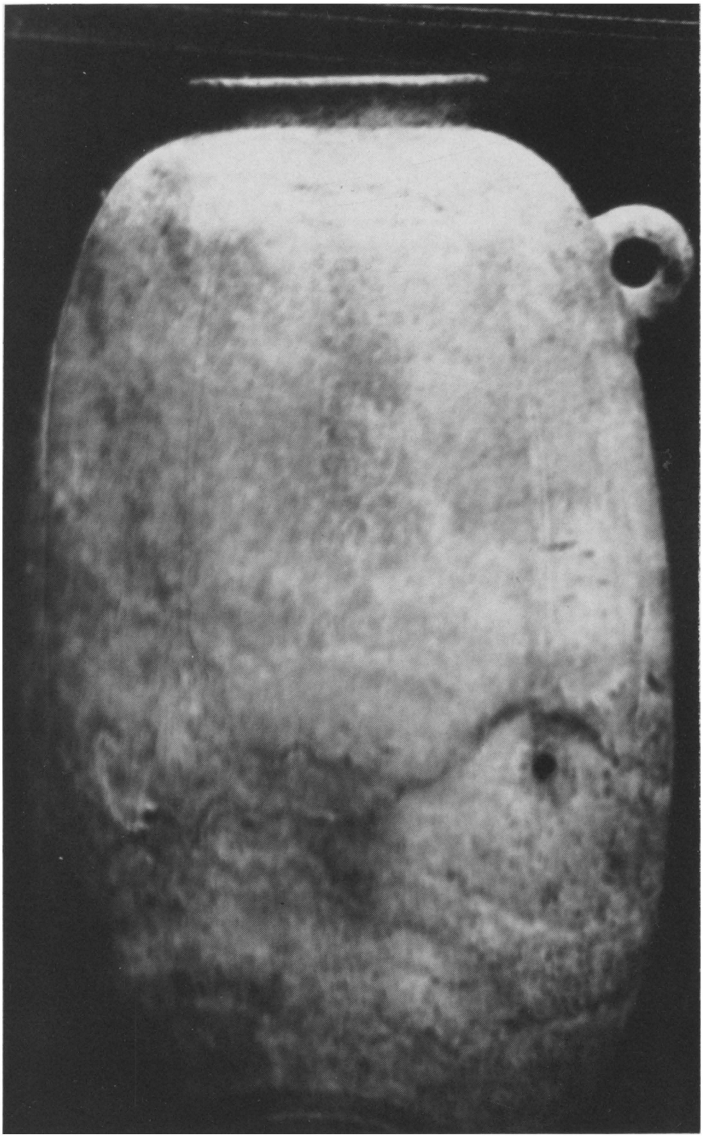
3,5m.
SECCION A-B
PLANTA
A
B
N.

PLATE CIX


1
E 1/4
2
E 1/2
3
4
E 1/4
5
E 1/1



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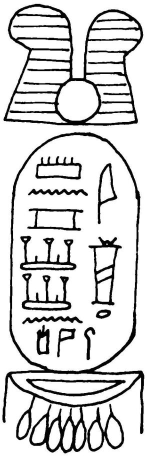

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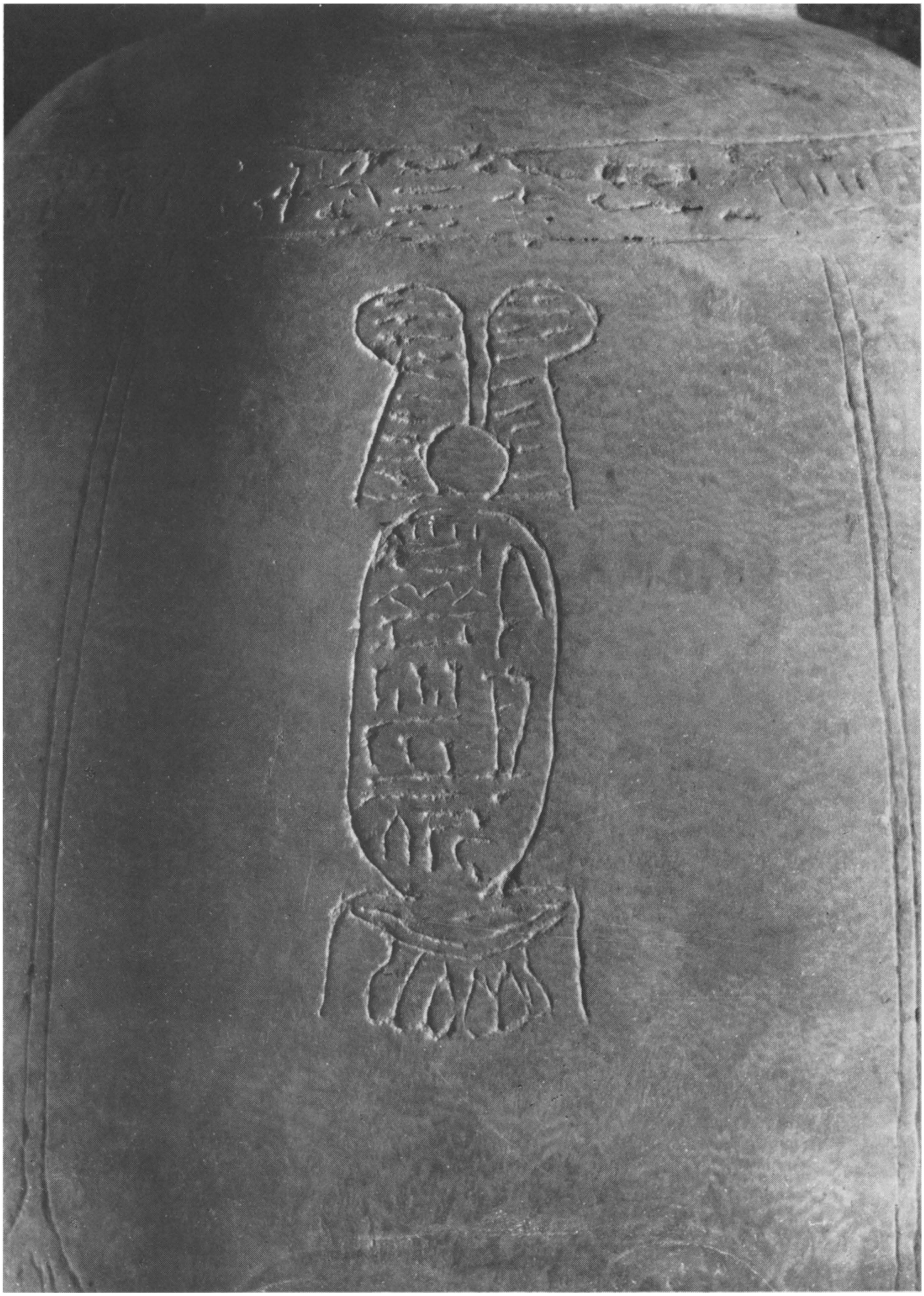

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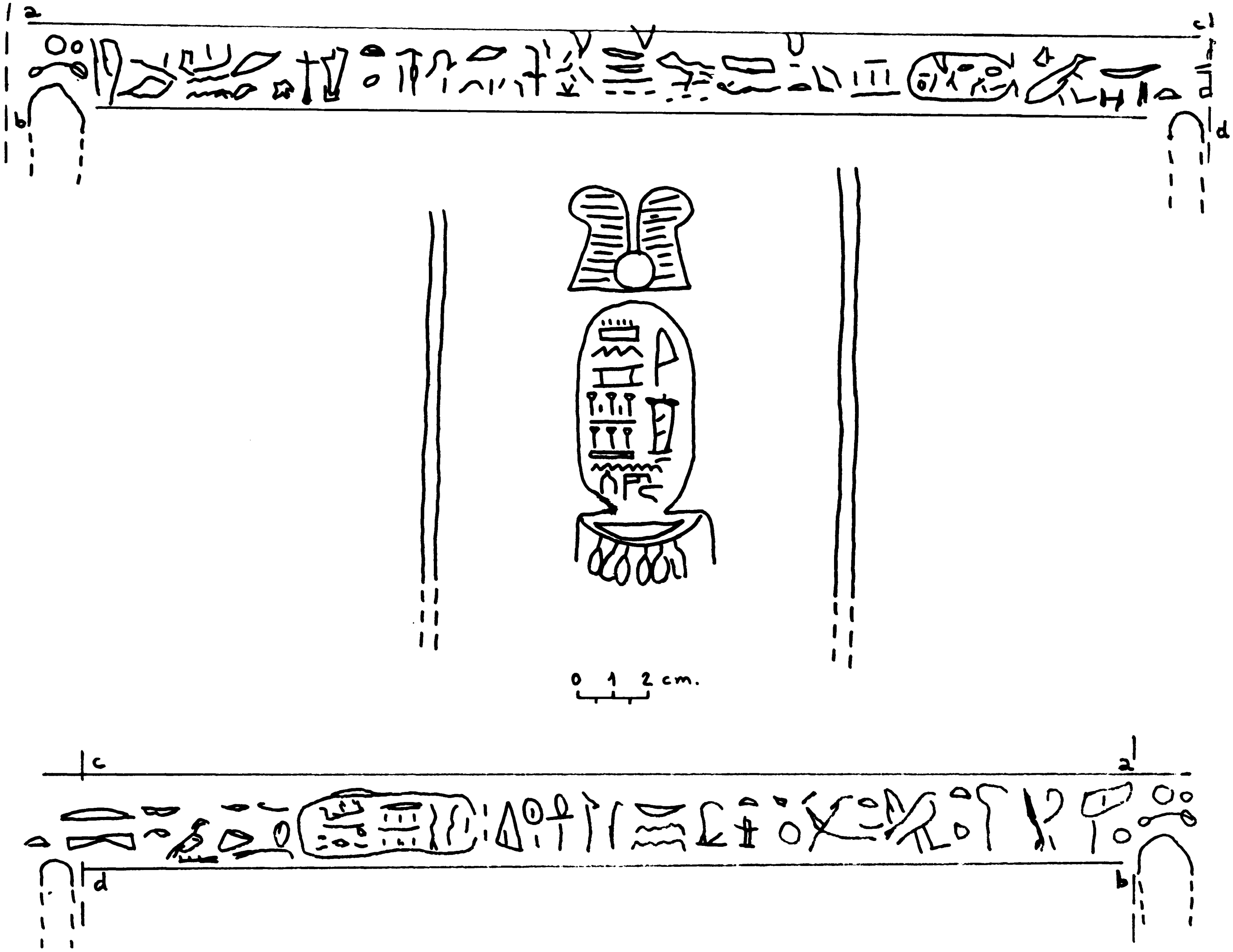

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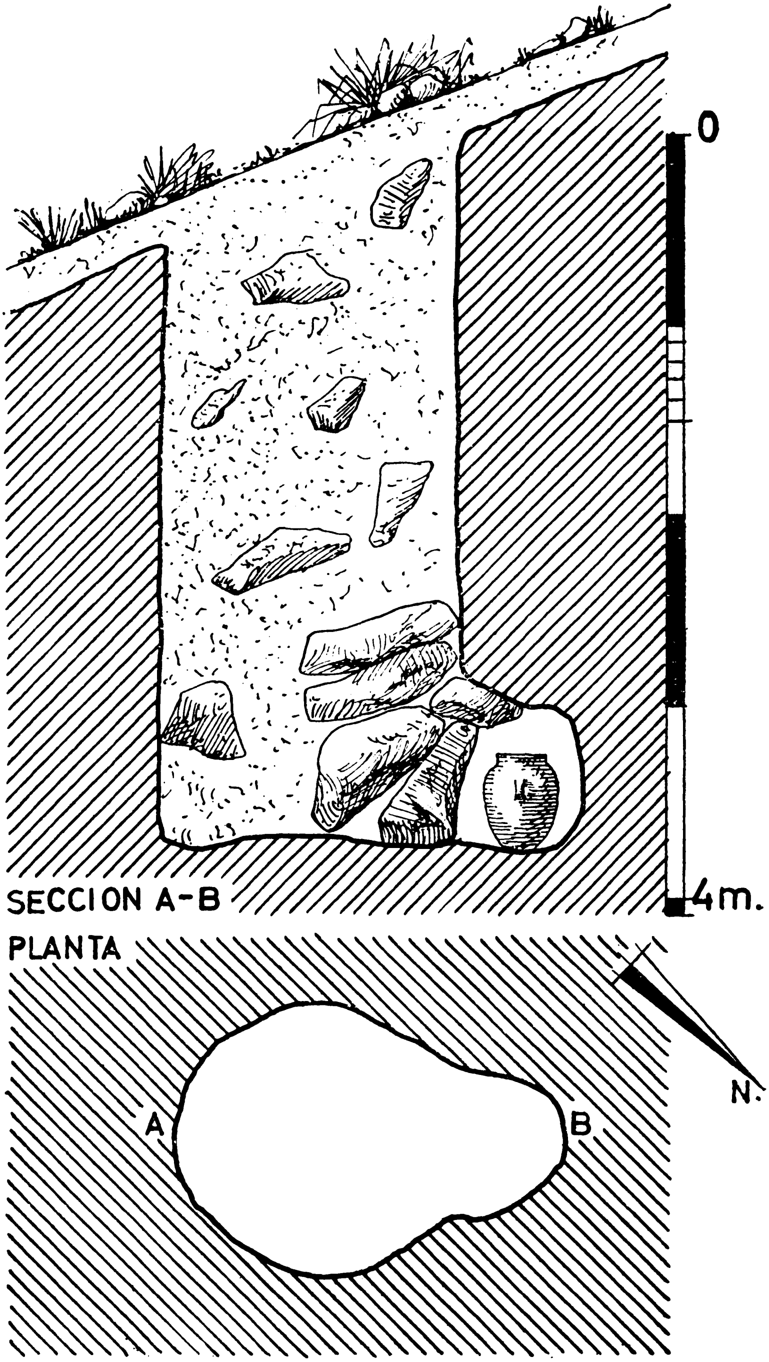
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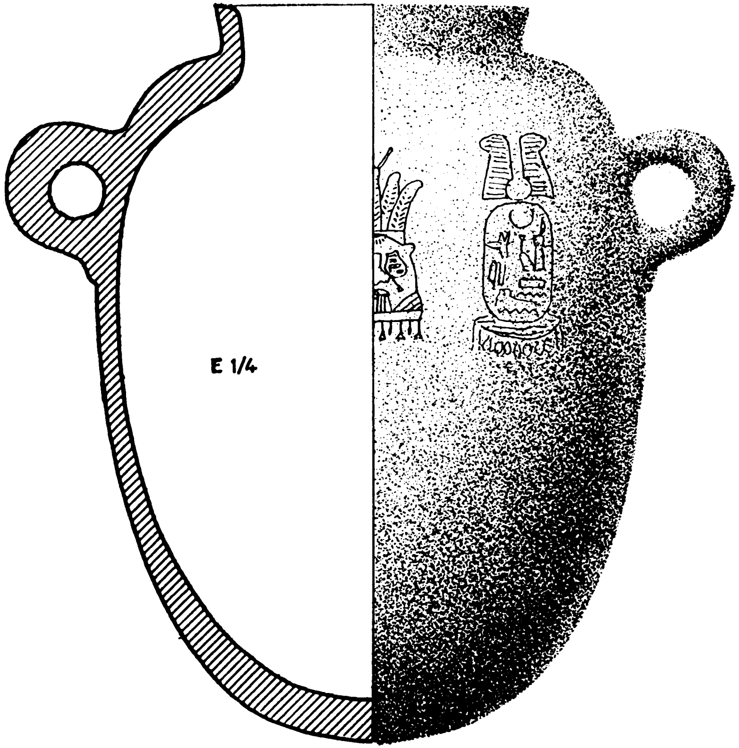
4m.
SECCION A-B
PLANTA
A
B
N.

PLATE CXIV



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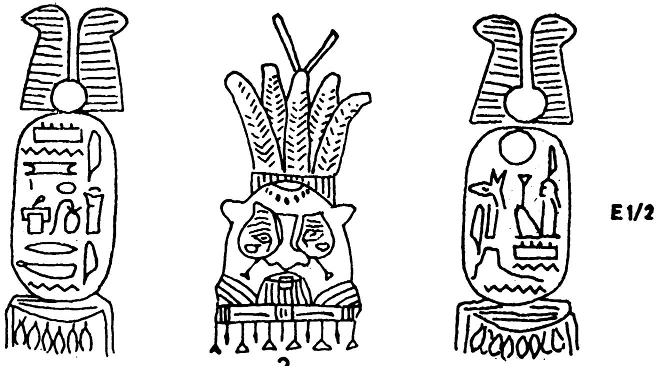

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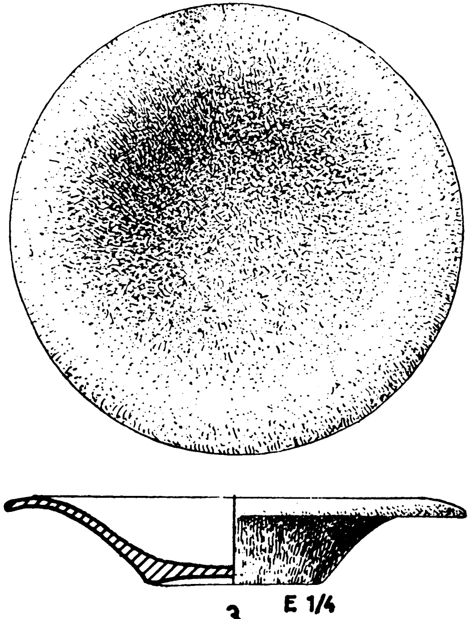

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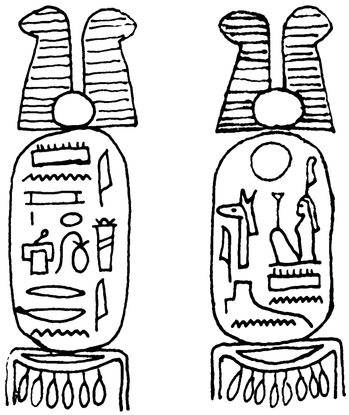
PLATE CXV



24.20

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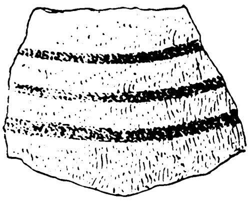

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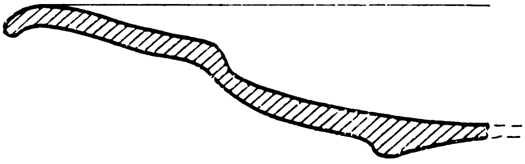

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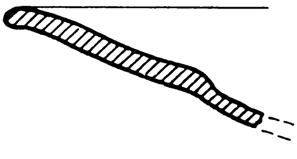

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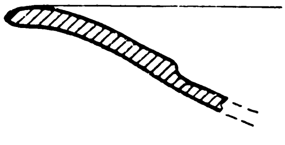

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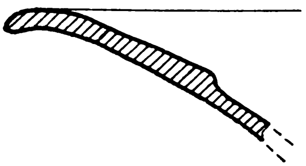

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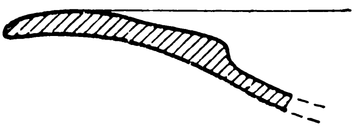
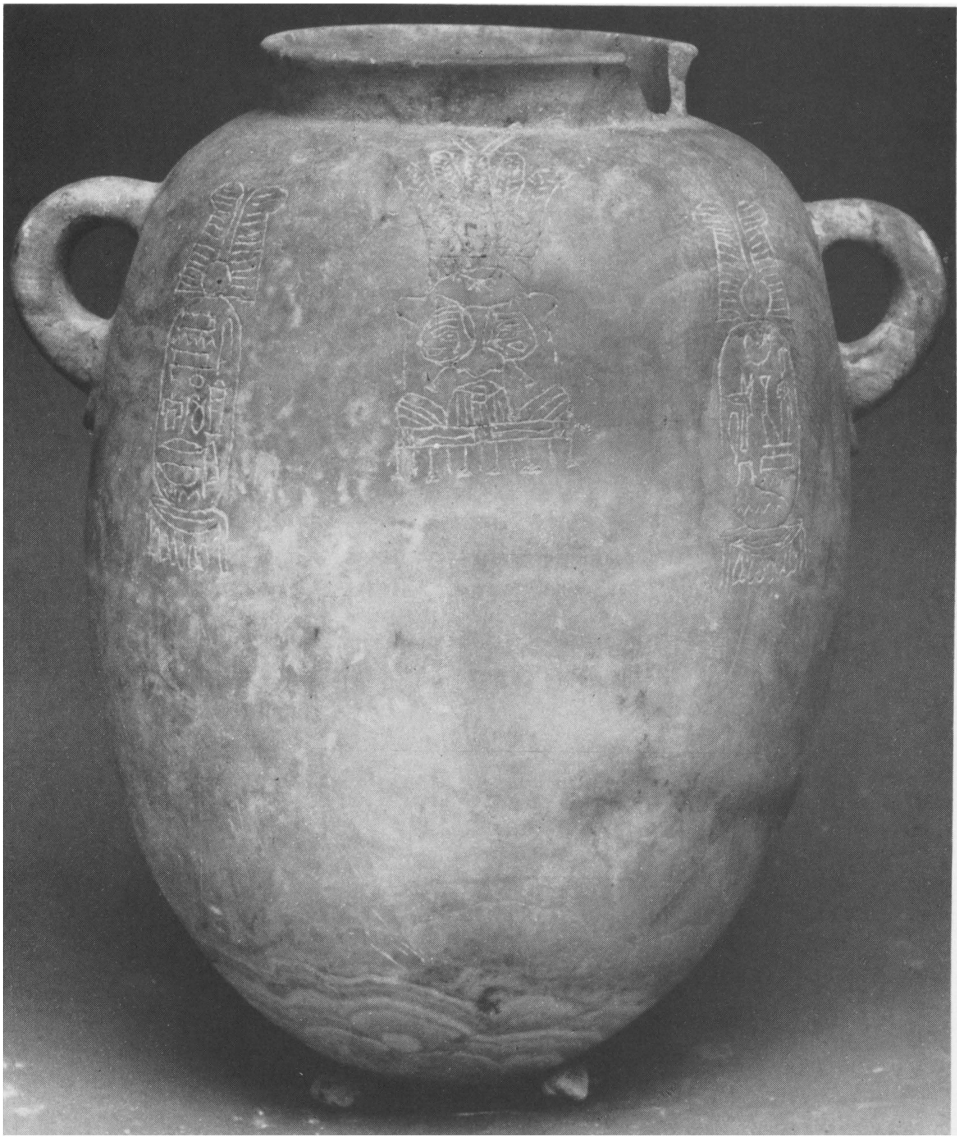


E 1/2



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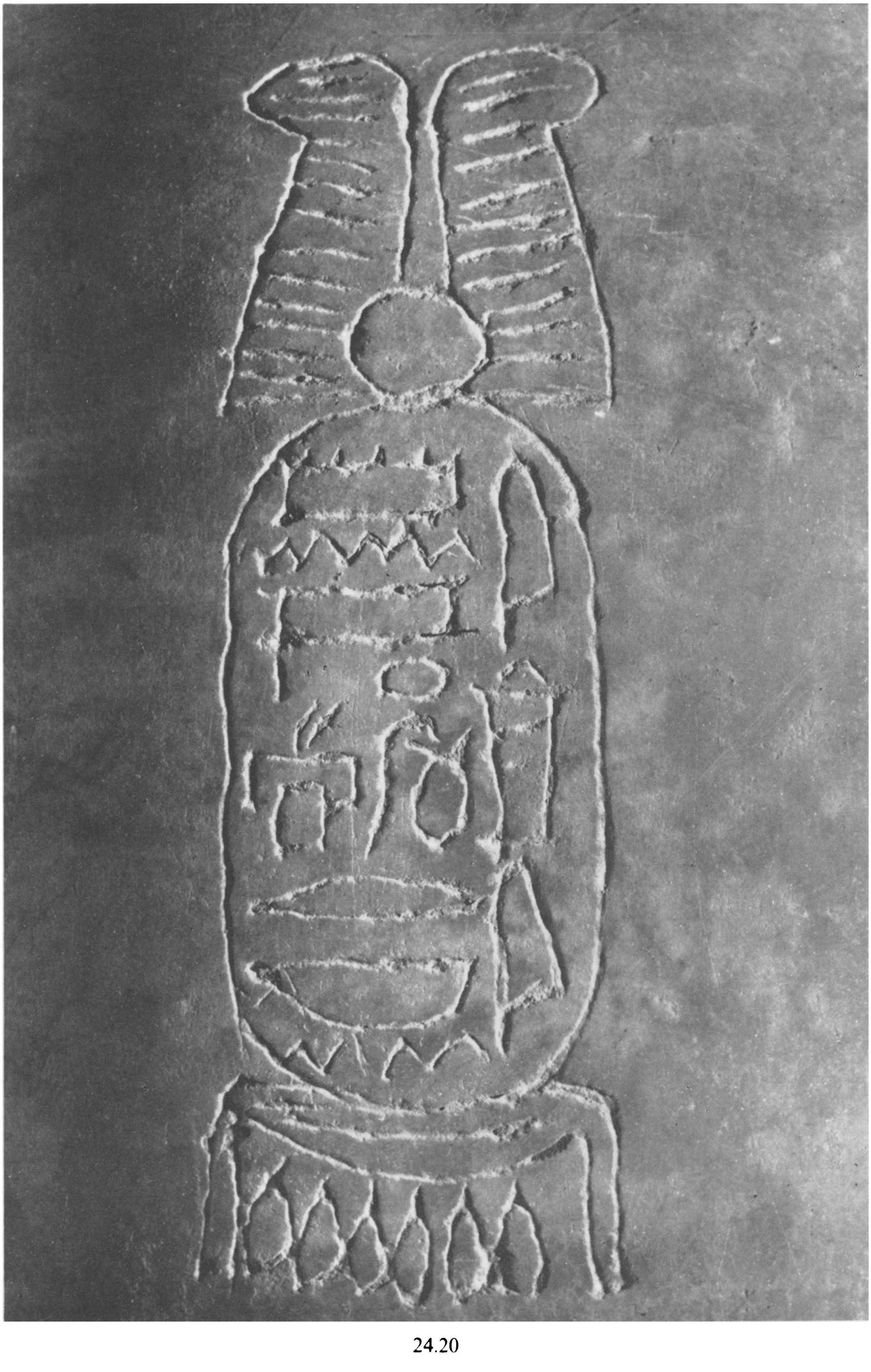
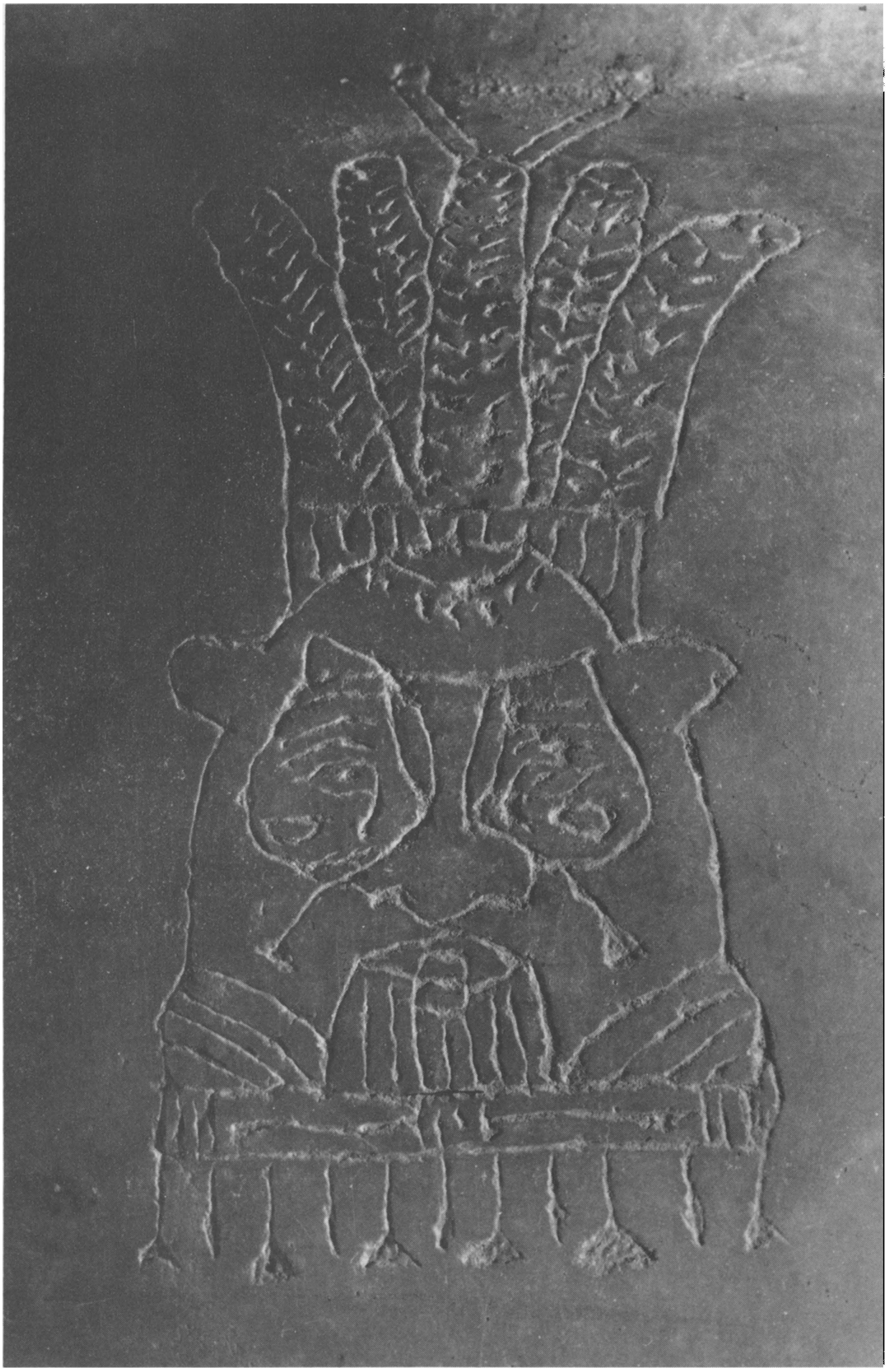


24.20



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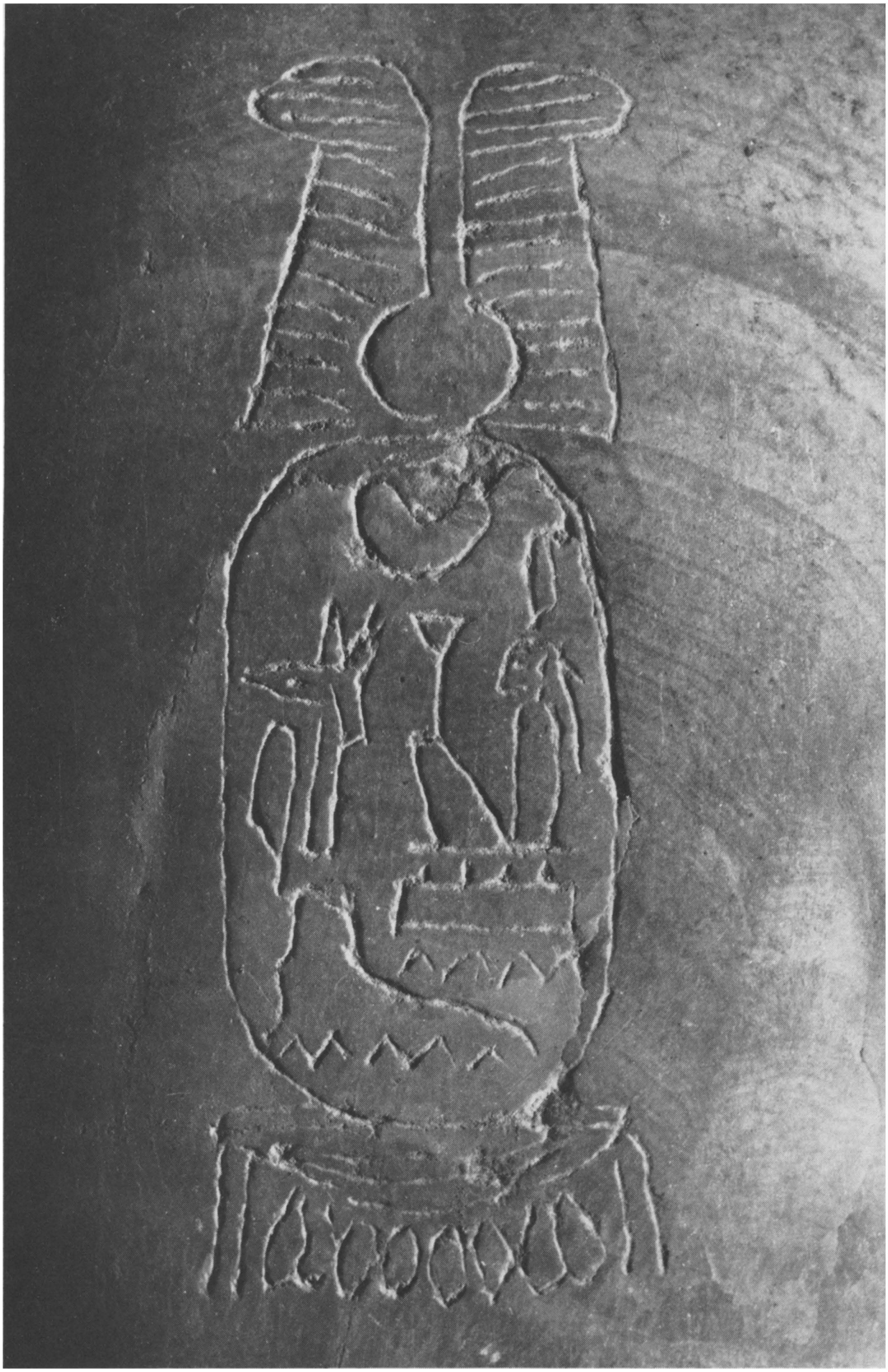
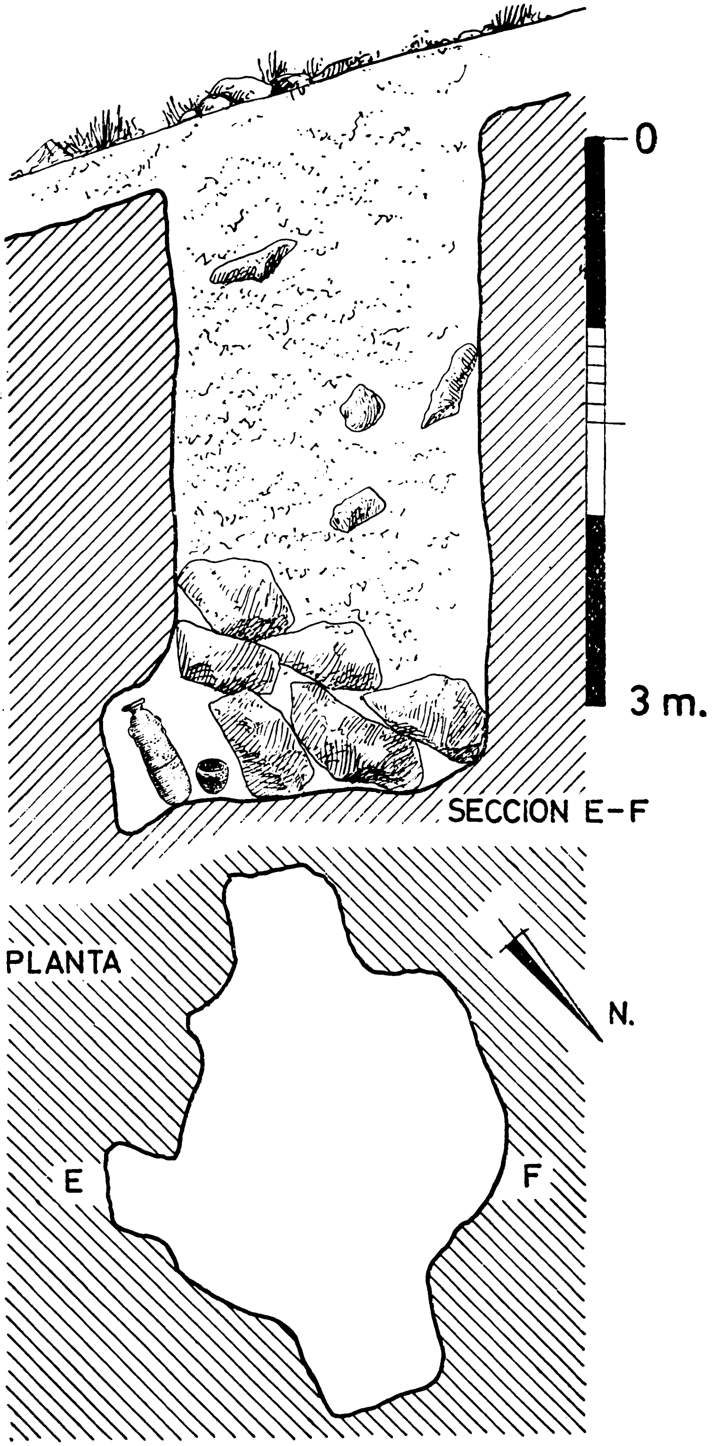


24.20

PLATE CXX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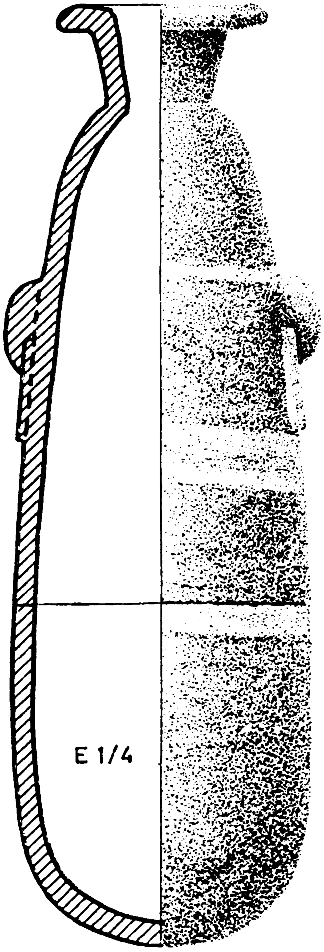
3 m.
SECCION E-F
PLANTA
N.
E
F



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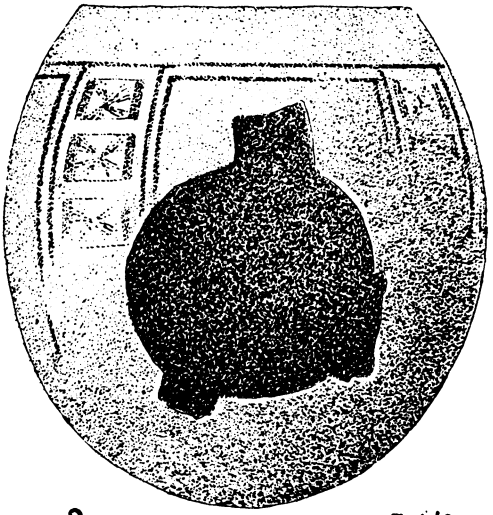

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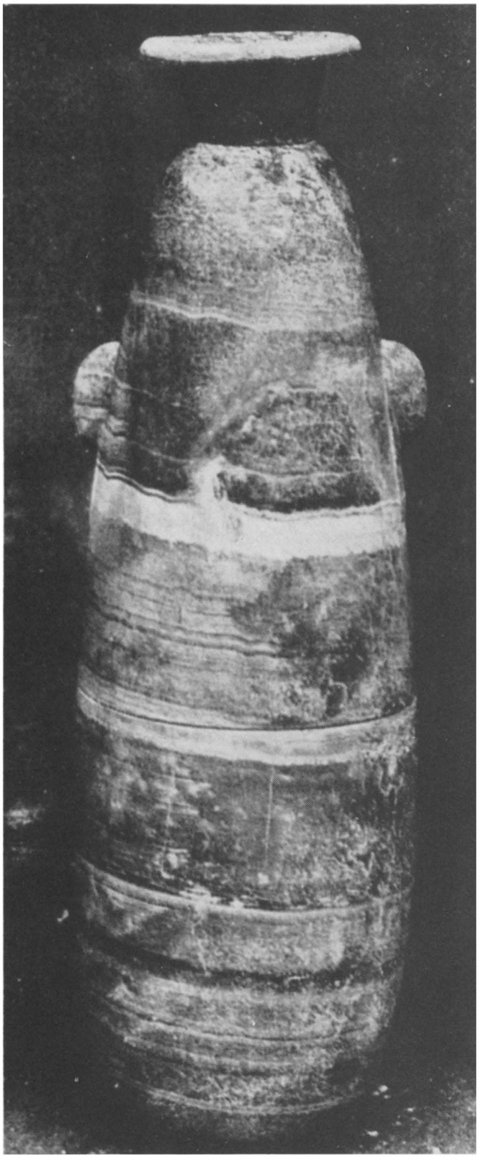
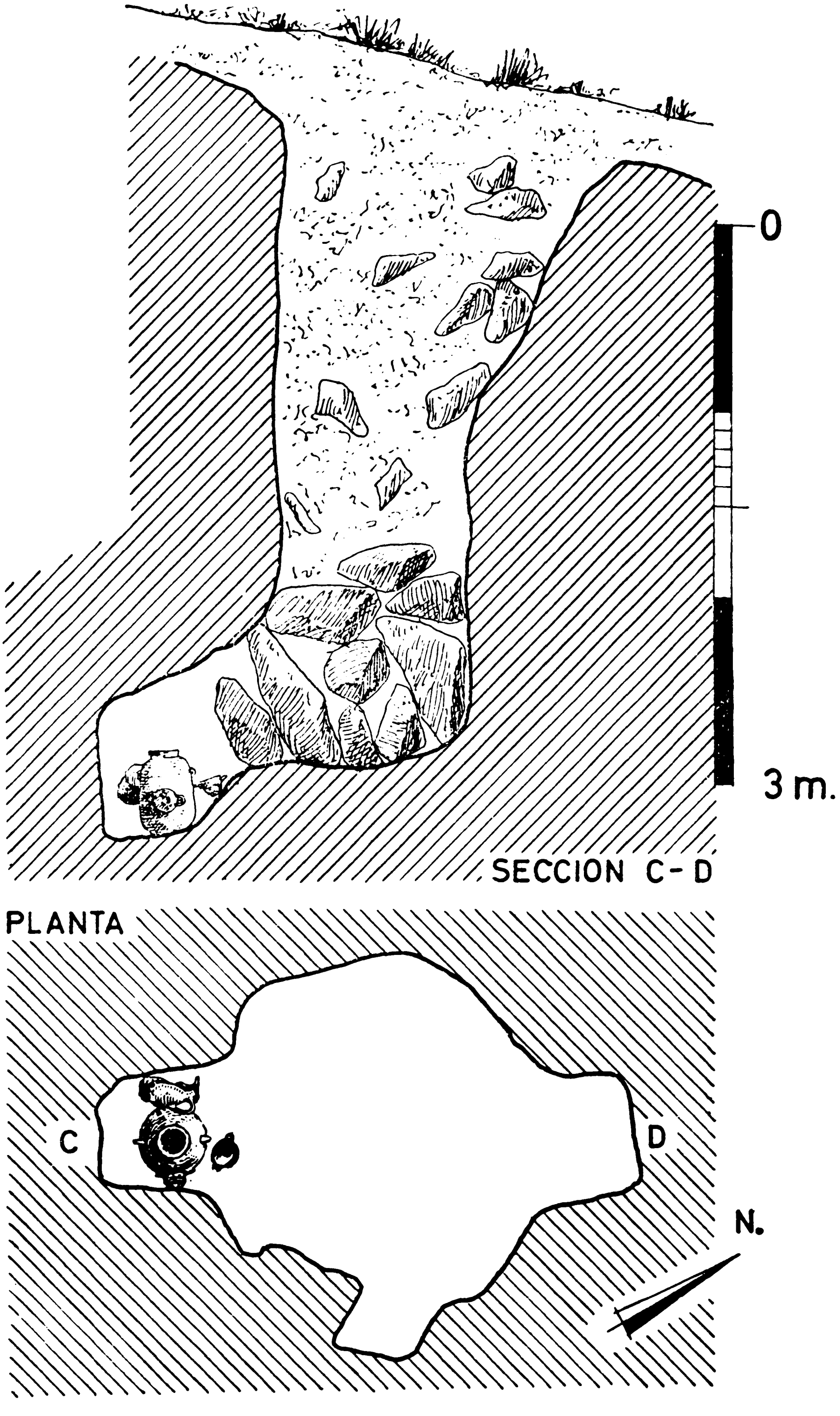
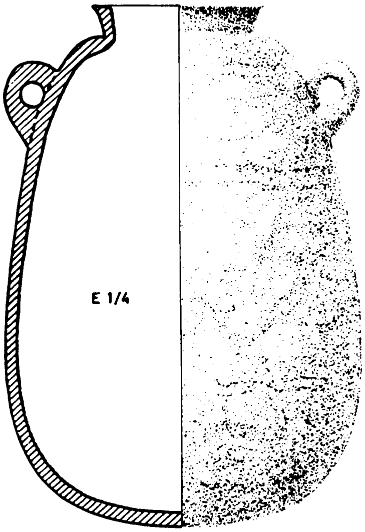
E 1/2



24.21

Plate CXXIII


0
3 m.
SECCION C-D
PLANTA
C
D
N.



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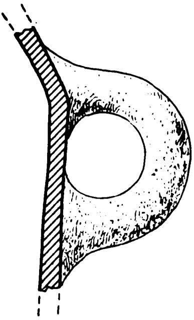
4



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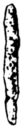
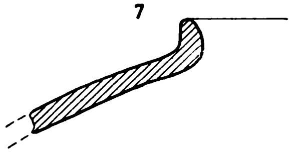


E 1/2

7



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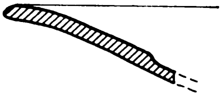

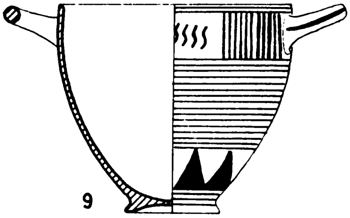

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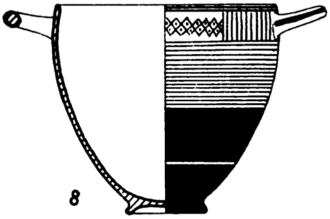

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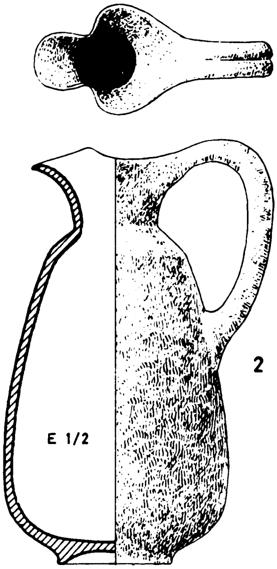

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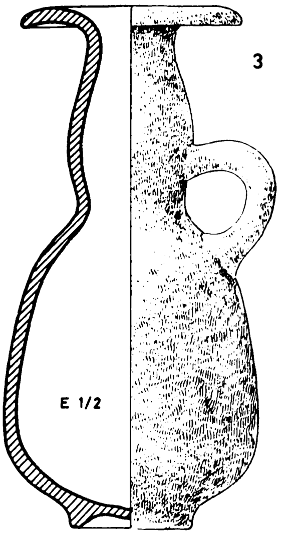

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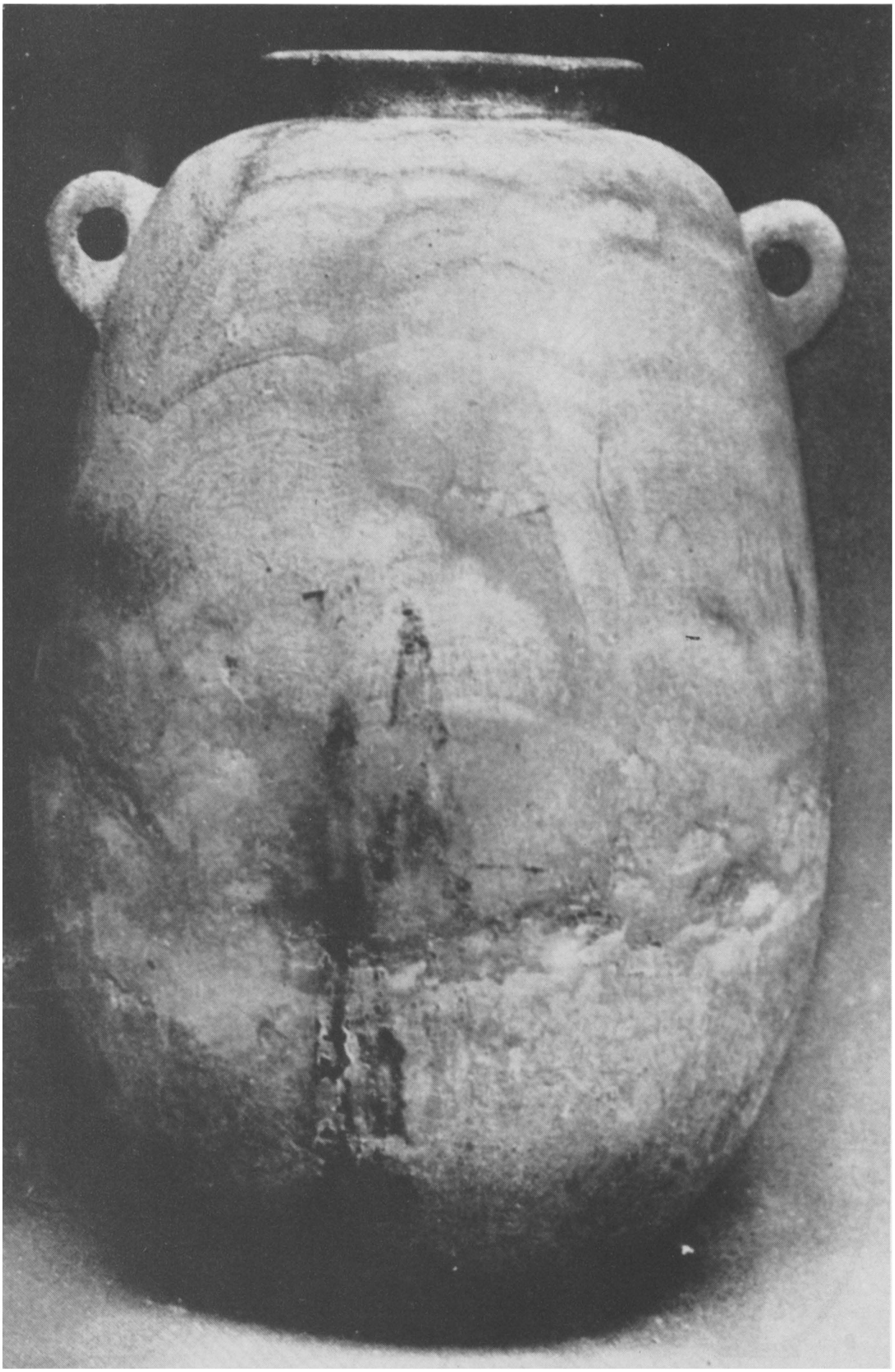


24.22

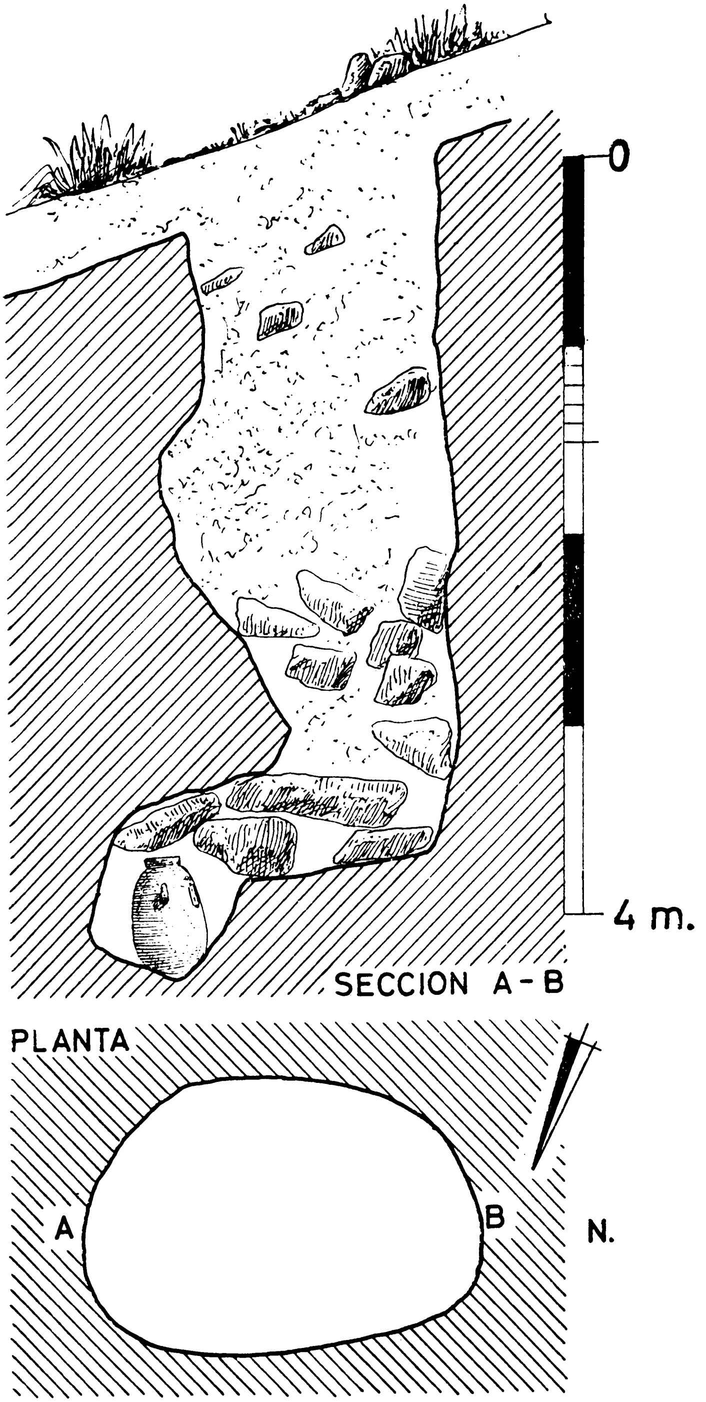
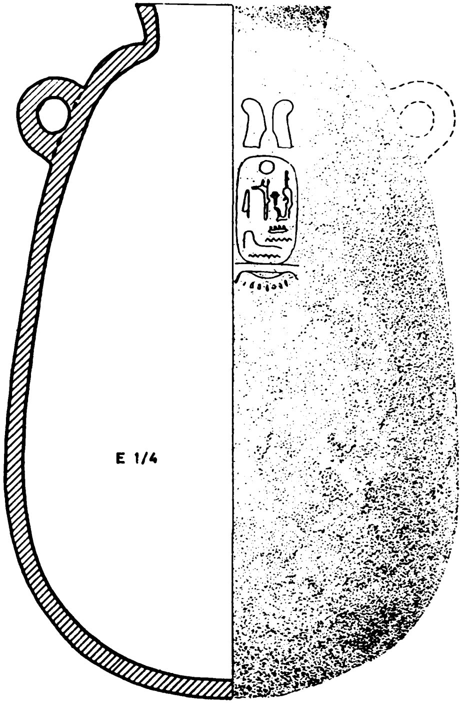

0
4 m.
SECCION A-B
PLANTA
A
B
N.

PLATE CXXVII



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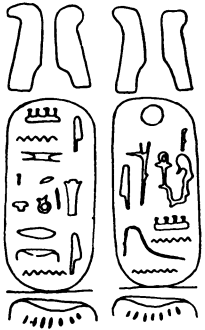
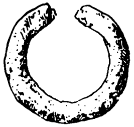
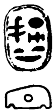


2



3

E 1/1



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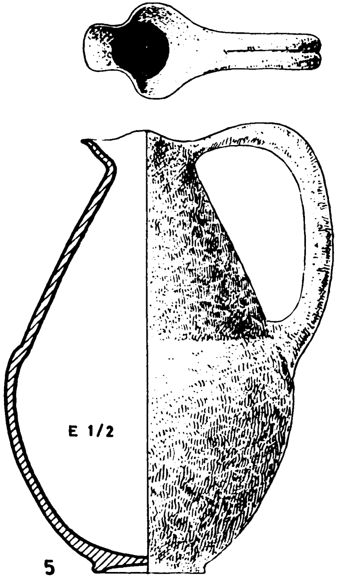

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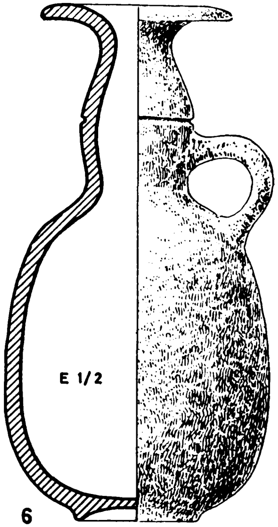

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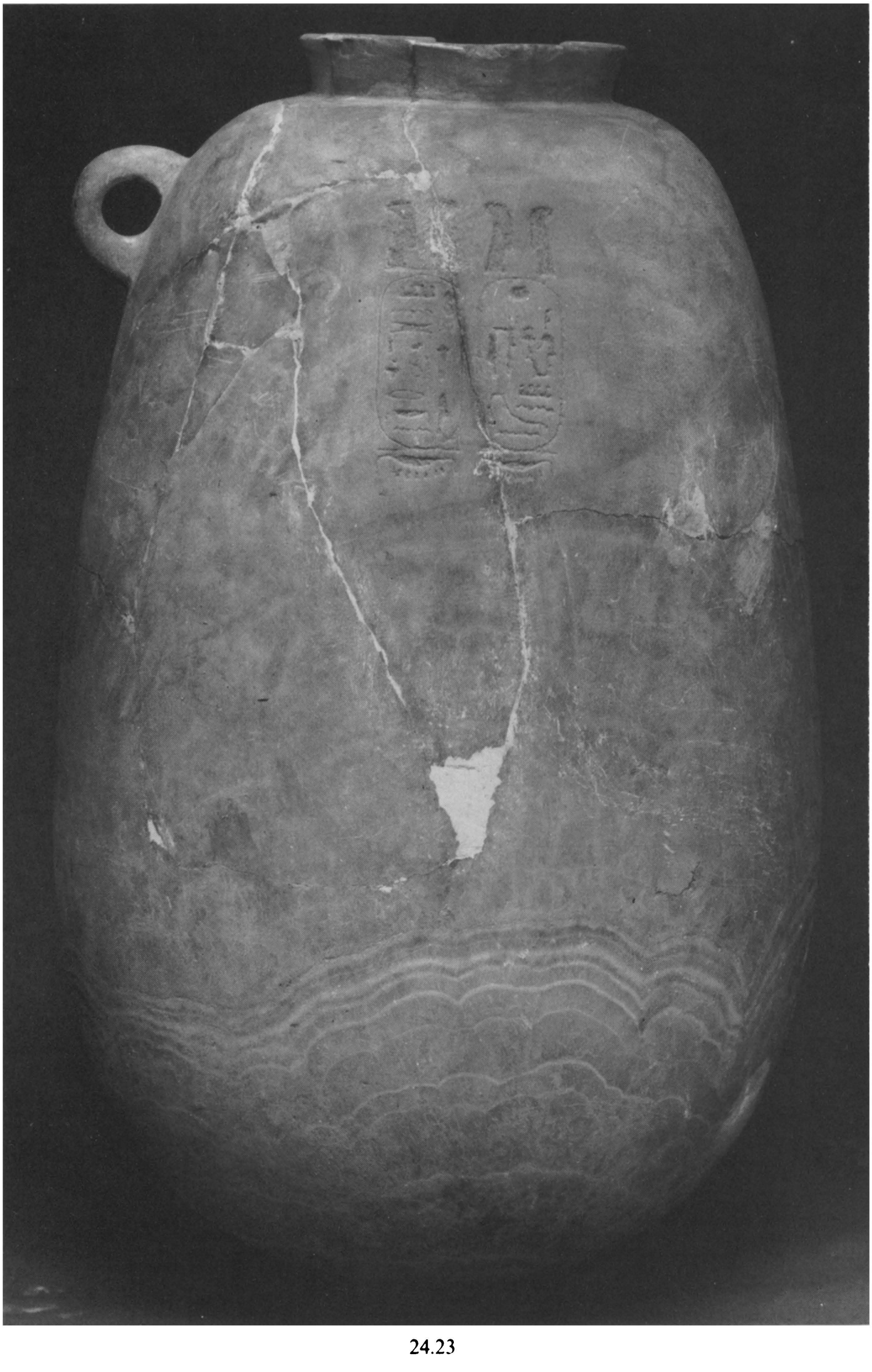
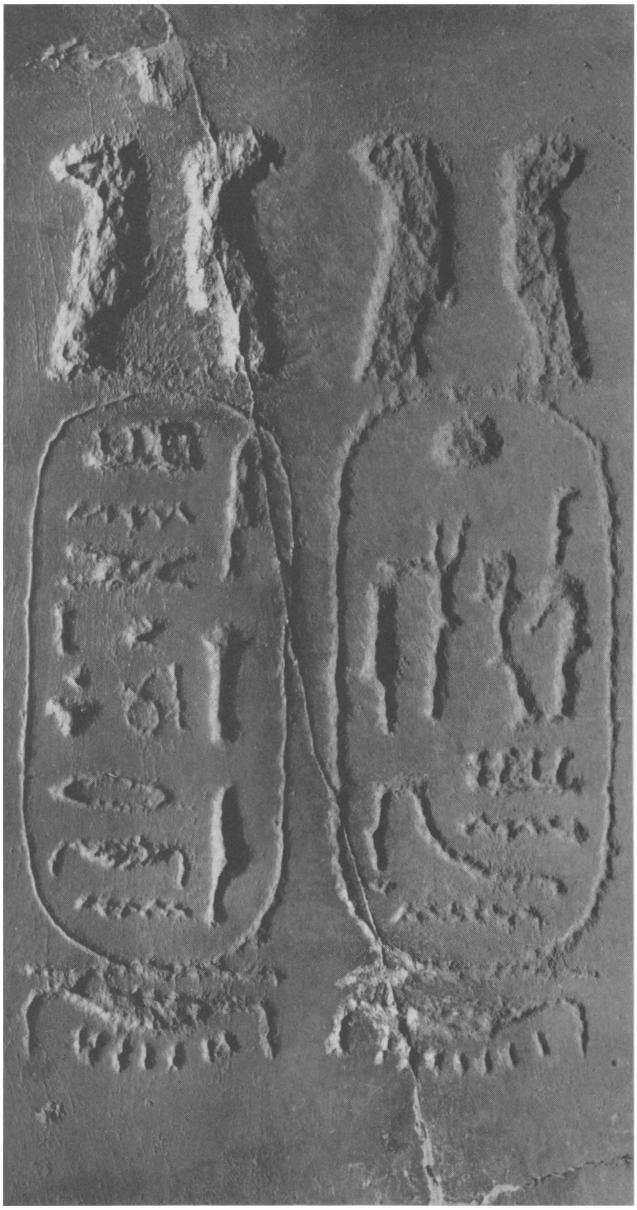


24.23

PLATE CXXIX



24.23

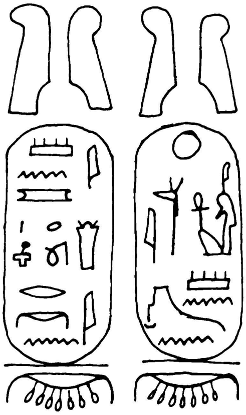


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PLATE CXXX

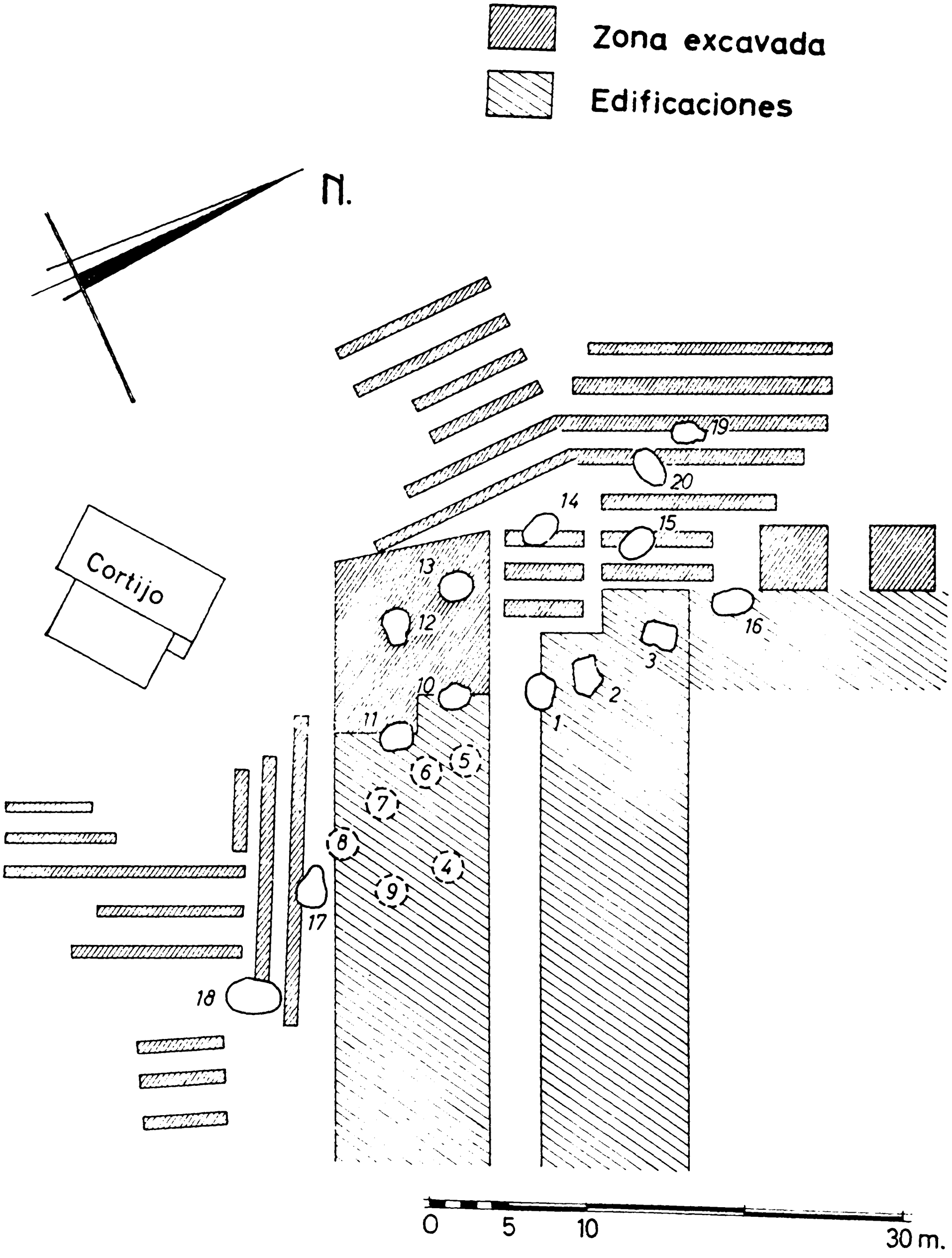
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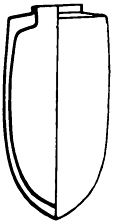
Plate CXXXI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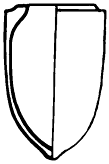
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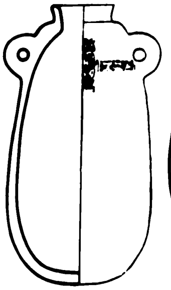
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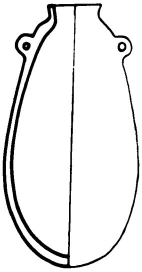
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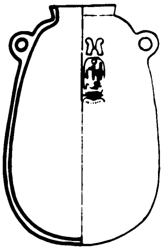
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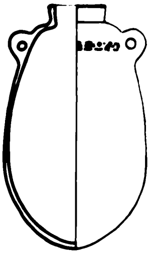
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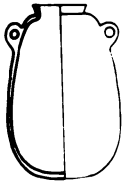
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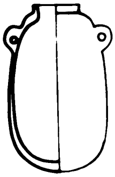
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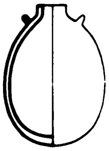
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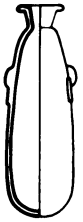
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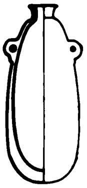
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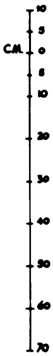
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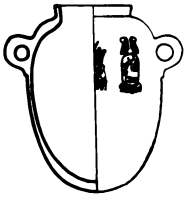
70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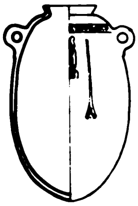
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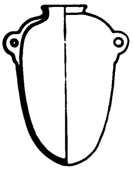
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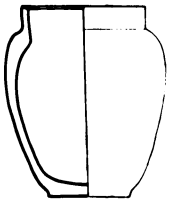
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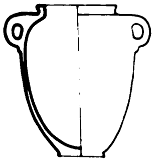
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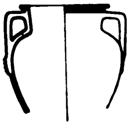
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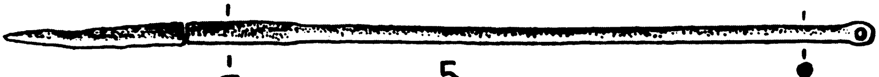
PLATE CXXXII



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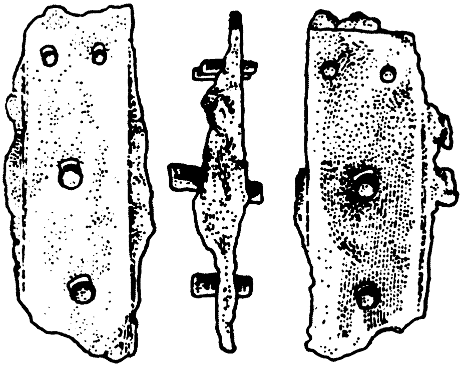

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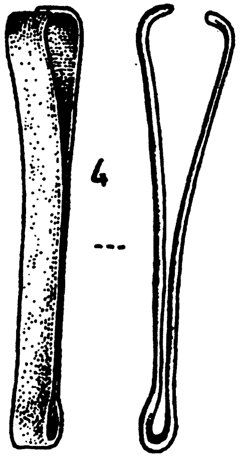

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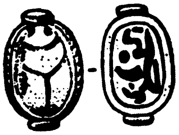

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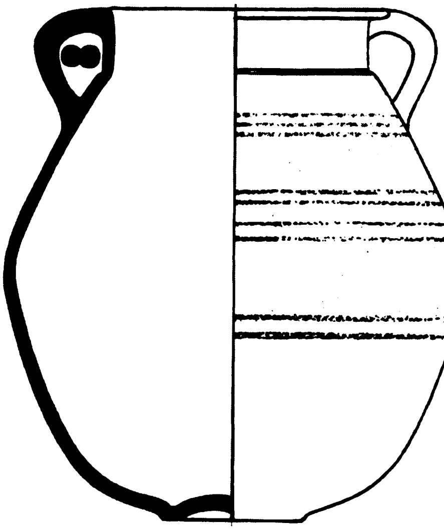
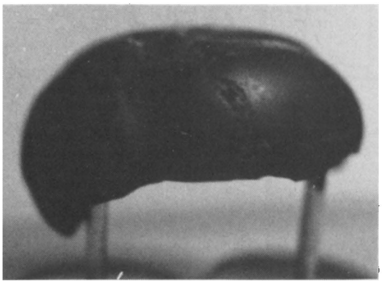


PLATE CXXXIII



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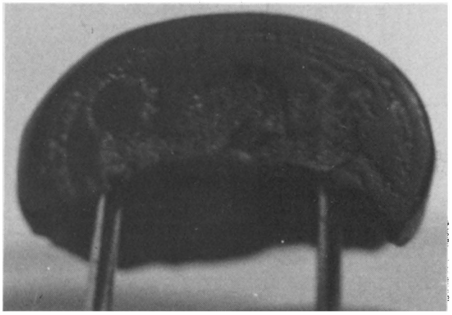

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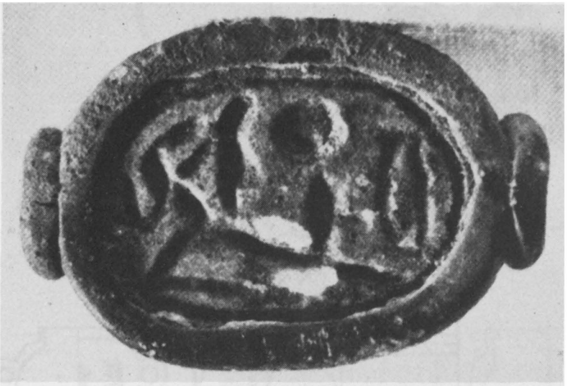

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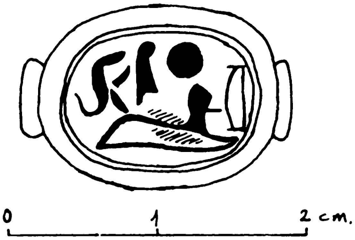

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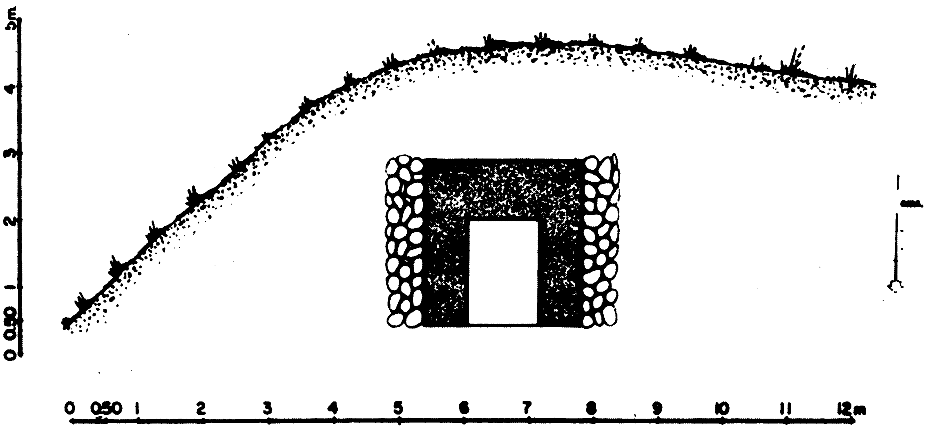

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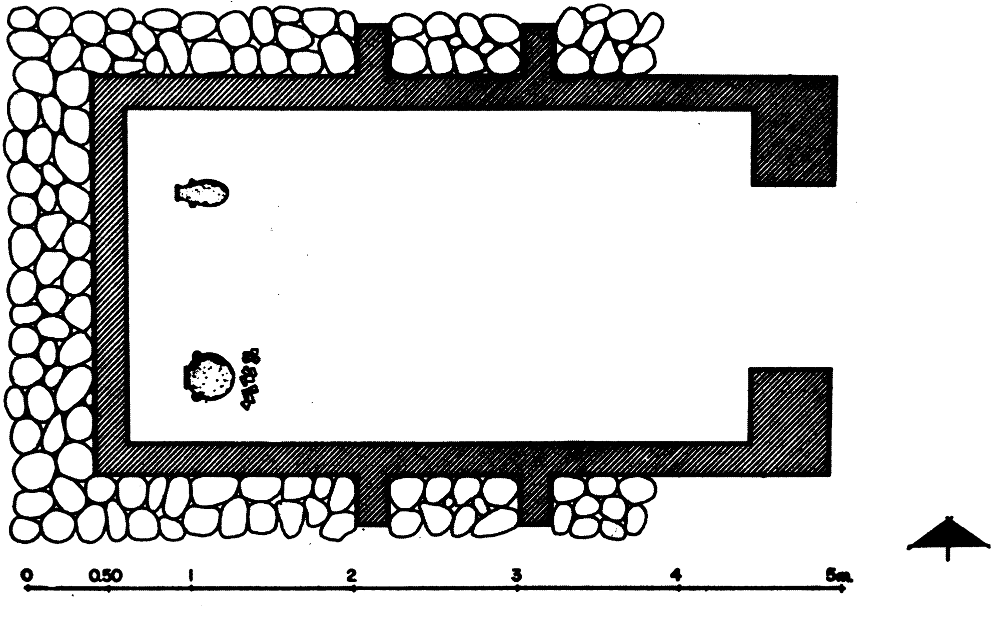
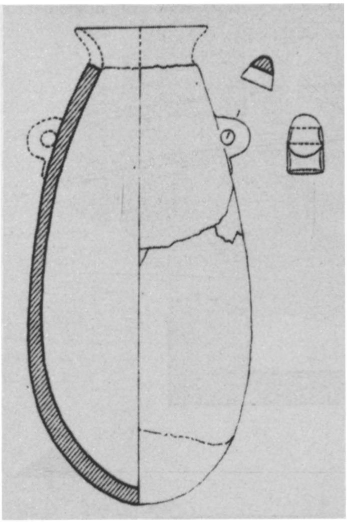


0 0.50 1 2 3 4 5m.



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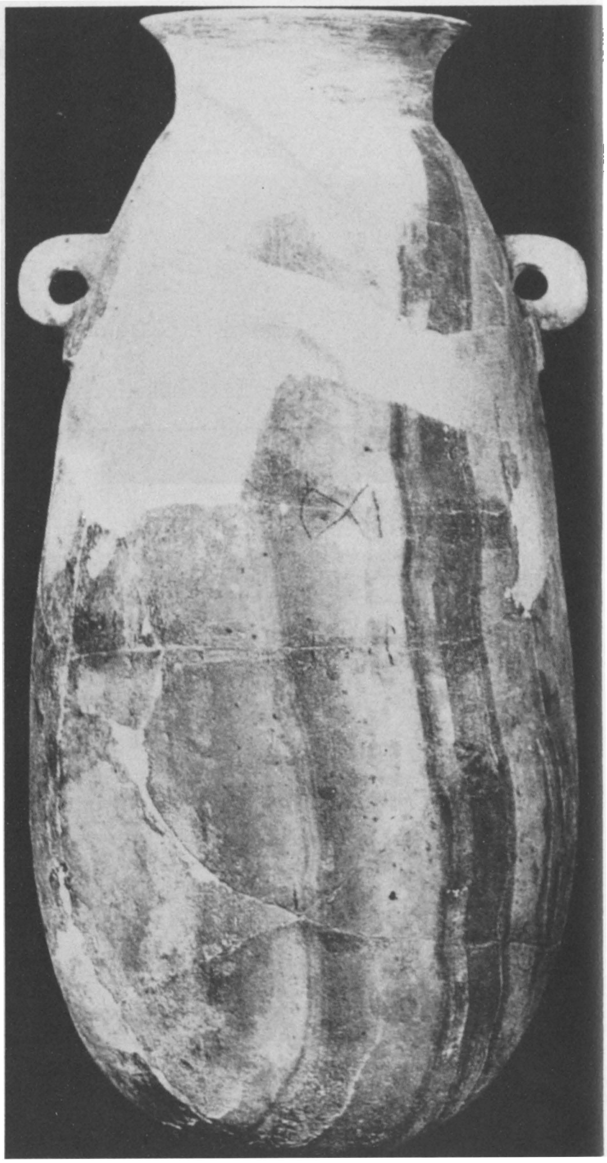

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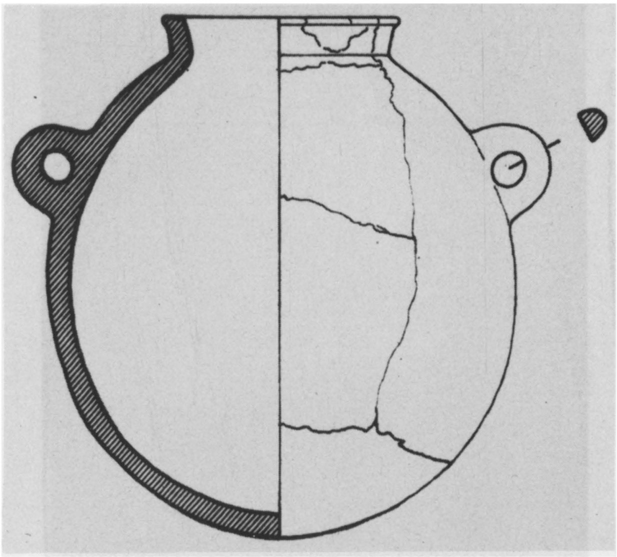

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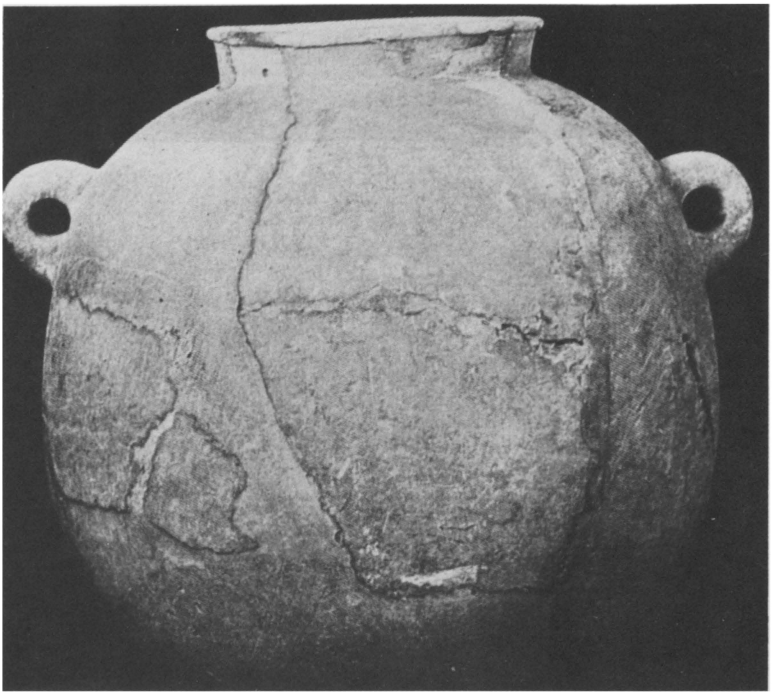
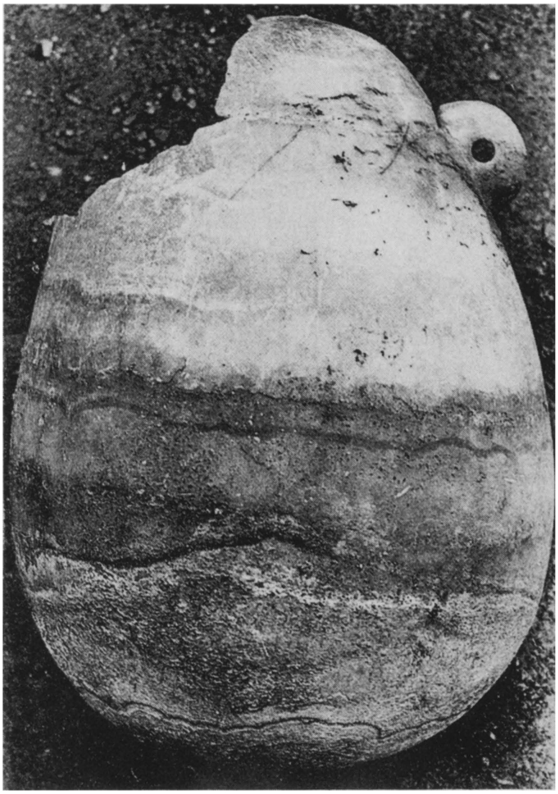
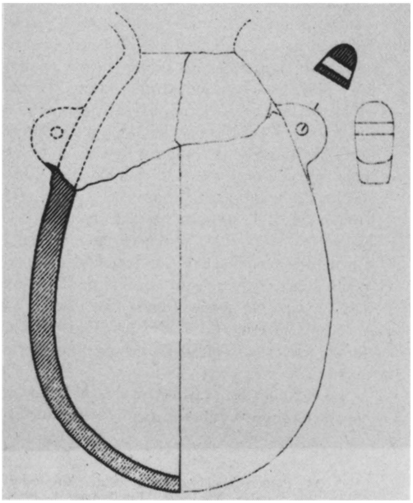




26.03



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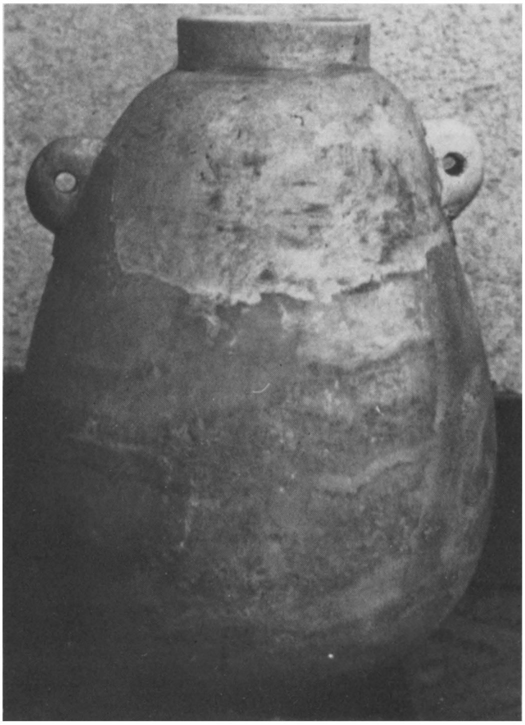

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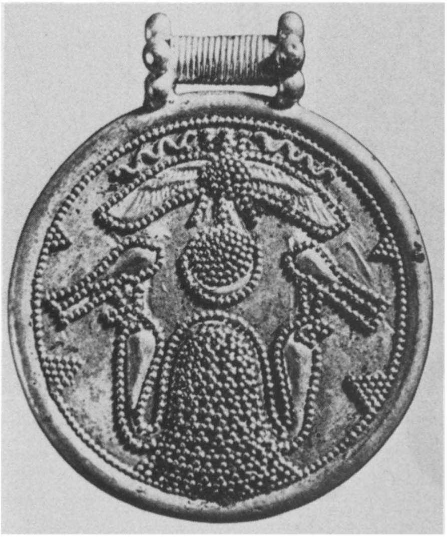

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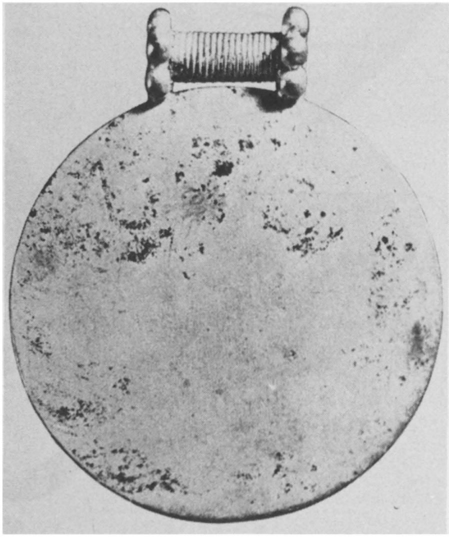
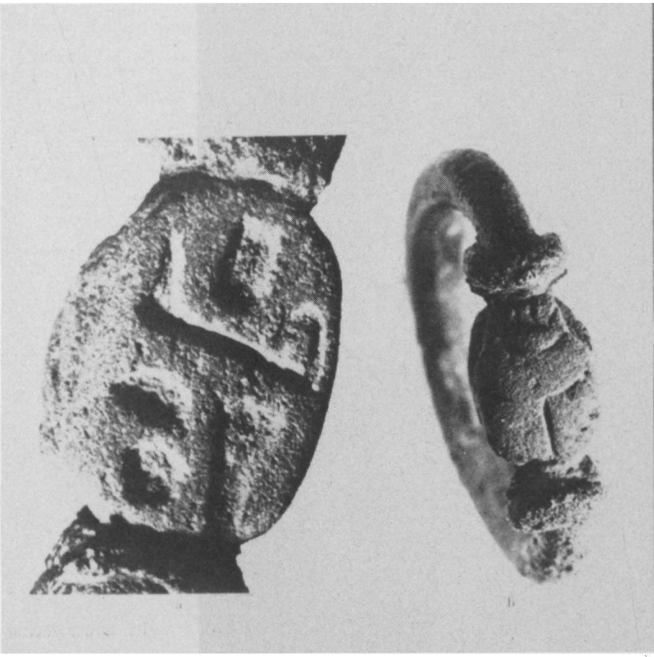


26.04

Plate CXXXIX



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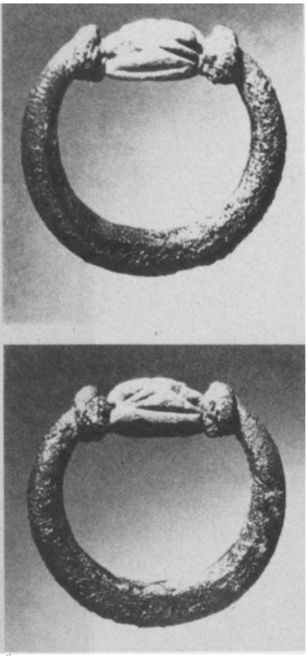

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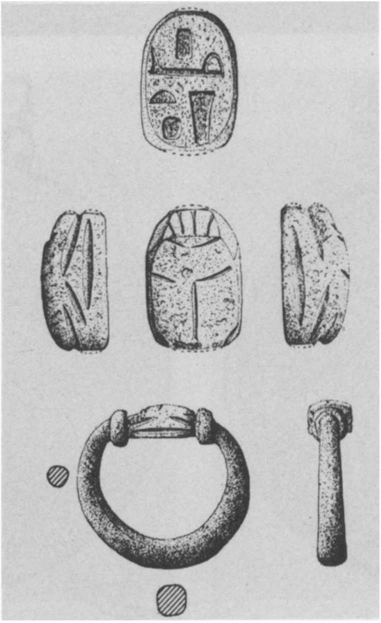

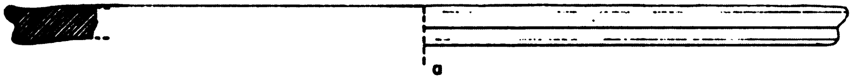

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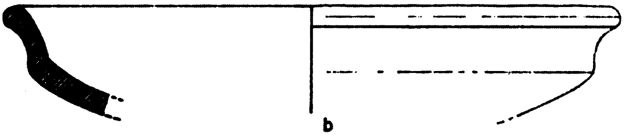

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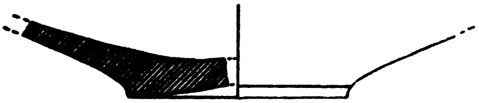

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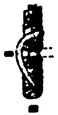

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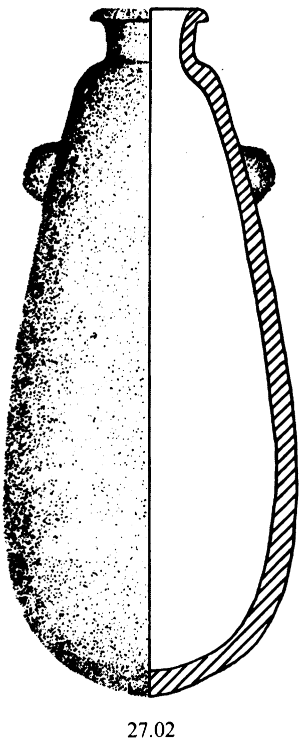

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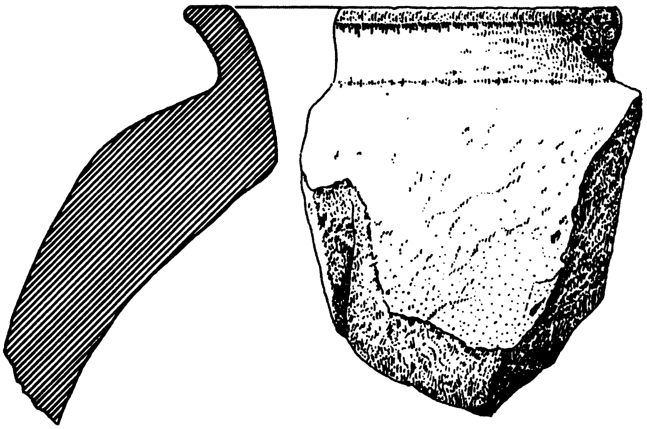

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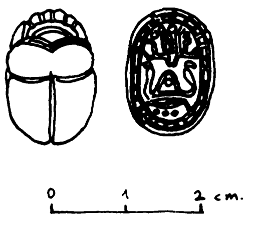

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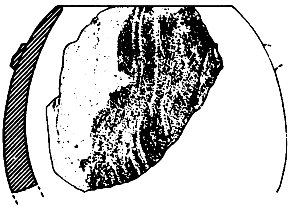
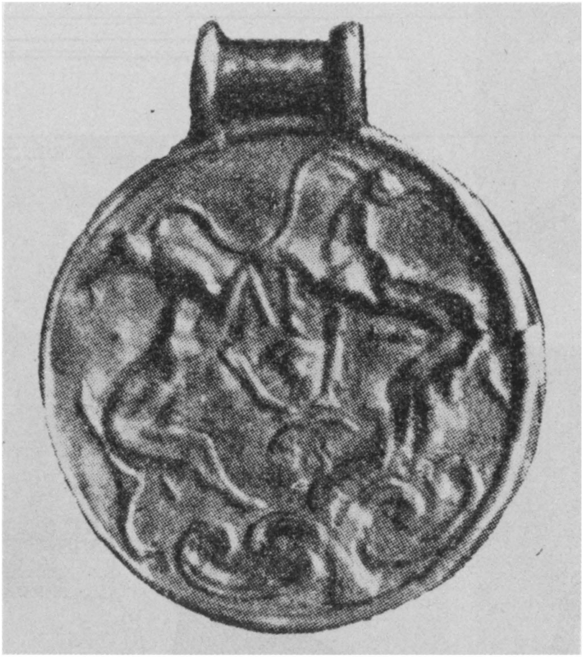


28.02



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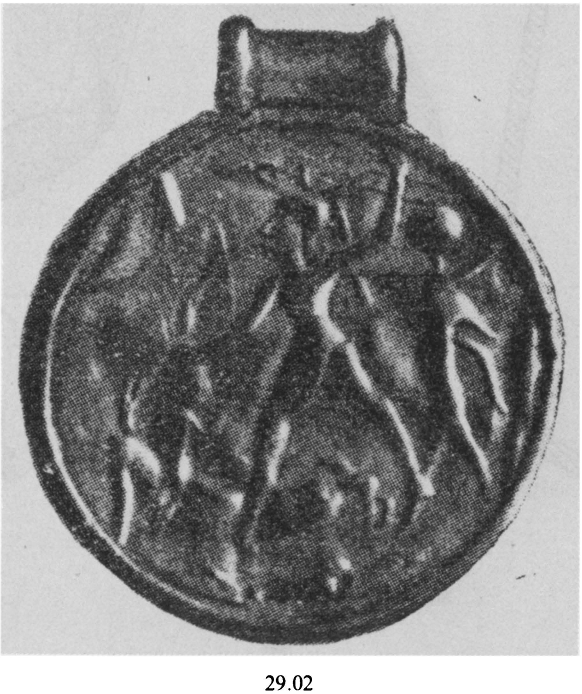

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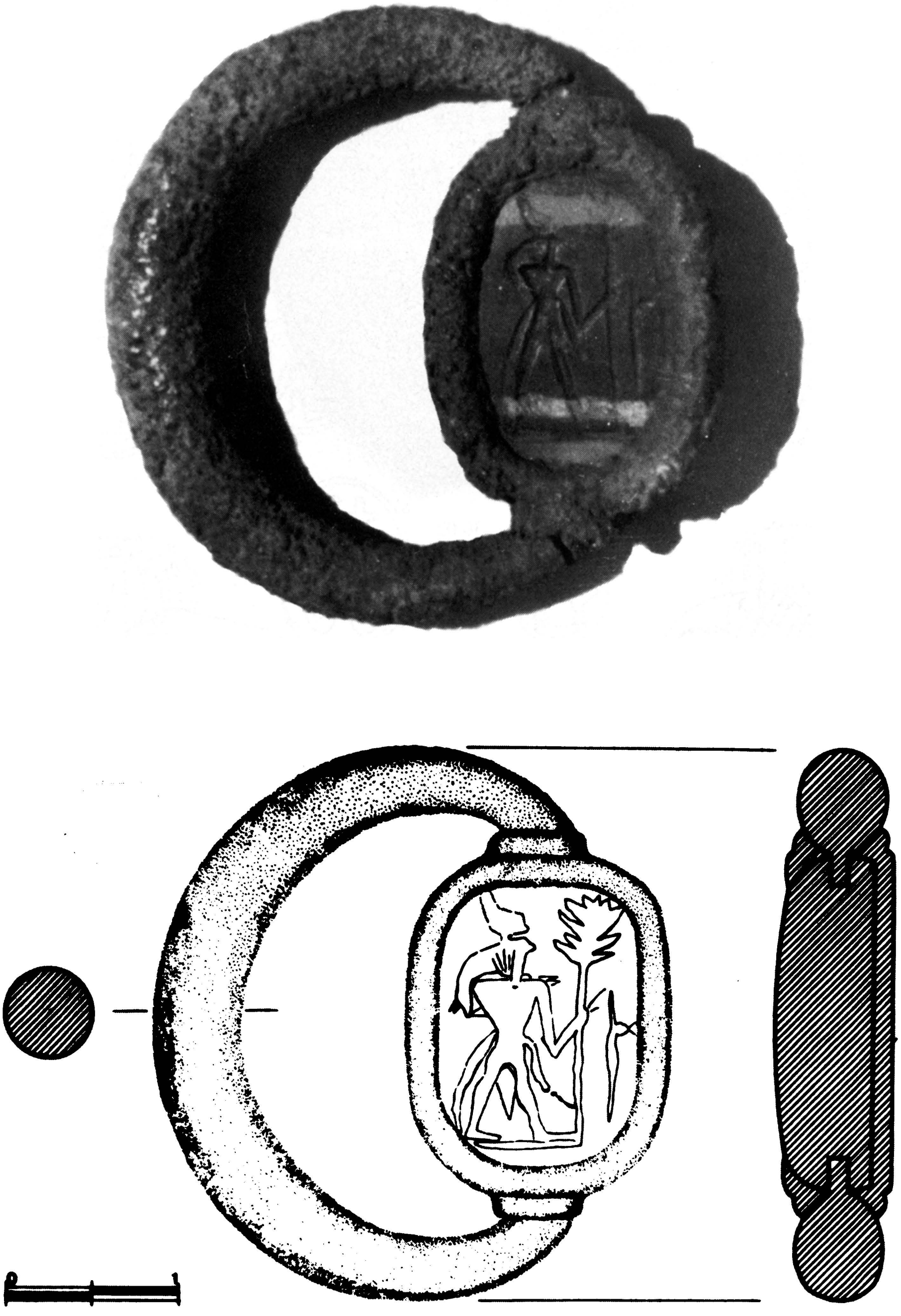
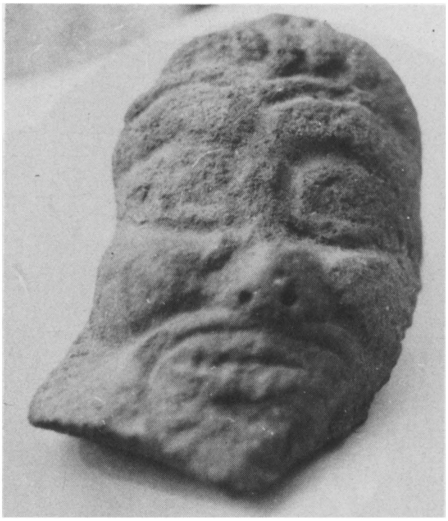


30.01

Plate CXLIII



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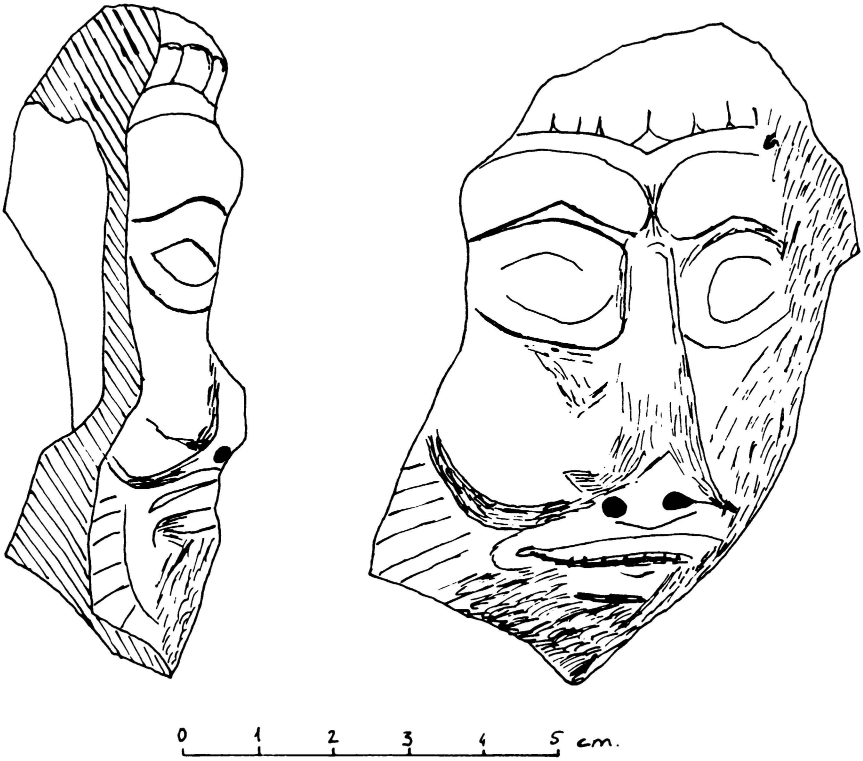

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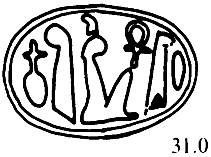
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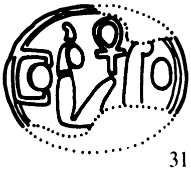
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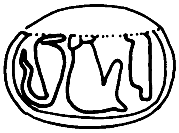
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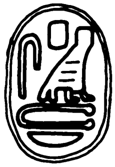
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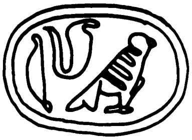
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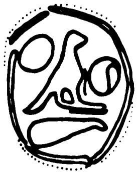
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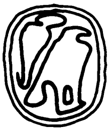
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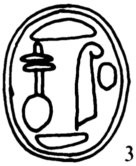
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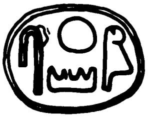
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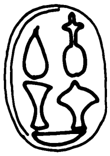
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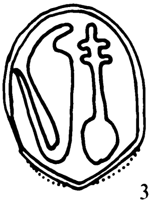
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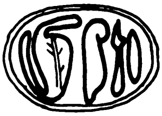
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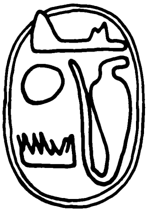
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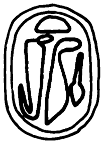
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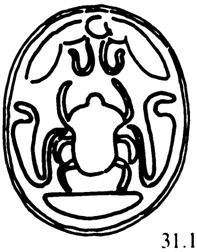
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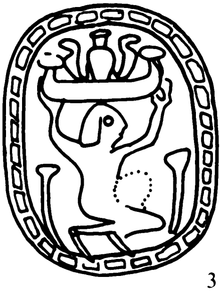
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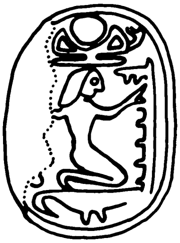
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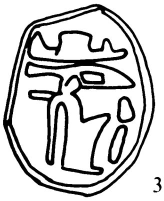
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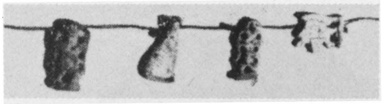
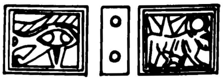
PLATE CXLV



31.30-31.33



31.34

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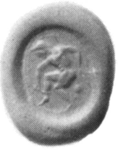

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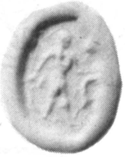

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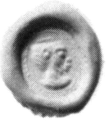

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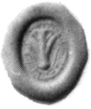

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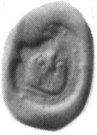

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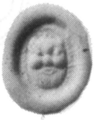

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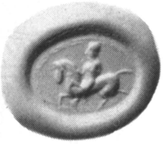

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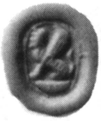

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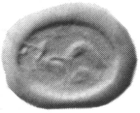

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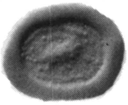

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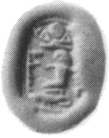
PLATE CXLVI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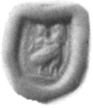
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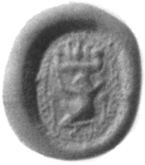
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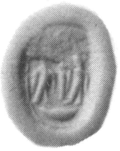
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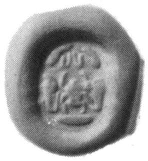
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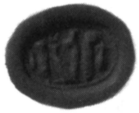
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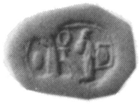
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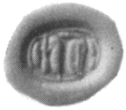
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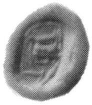
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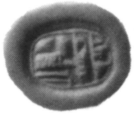
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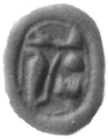
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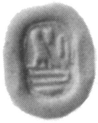
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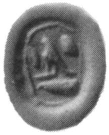
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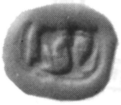
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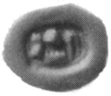
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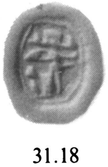
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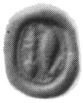
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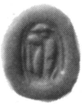
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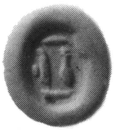
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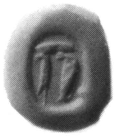
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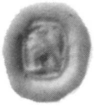
31.07

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